

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Thursday, the 10th July 1952.

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at four of the clock, Mr. Chairman (THE HON. DR. P. V. CHERIAN) in the Chair.

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

*Raising the limit of tax exemption under the
Madras General Sales Tax Act.*

* 31 Q.—SRI T. PURUSHOTHAMA MUDALIAR: Will the Hon. the Minister for Rural Welfare be pleased to state—

(a) whether there is any indication of a general rise in prices of all goods at present as compared with the prevalent rates in 1939 when the Madras General Sales Tax Act was first passed; and

(b) whether the Government are contemplating to raise the limit of tax exemption under sub-section (3) of section 3 of the said Act with reference to the rise in prices?

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—“(a) Yes.
“(b) No.”

SRI T. PURUSHOTHAMA MUDALIAR :—“May I know, Sir, if in the light of answer to clause (a) of the question, it is not fair to expect that petty dealers would be affected and not have the benefit of the exemption contemplated under the Act if the exemption limit is not raised.”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—“I am sure it is the opinion of the hon. Member and it cannot be taken as a general rule.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“May I know, Sir, if the Government have under consideration any proposal to raise the limit of tax exemption at least in the case of foodgrains and salt?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—“There is no such proposal, Sir.”

SRI T. PURUSHOTHAMA MUDALIAR :—“May I know whether a copy of the new Bill under contemplation in the Centre has been received here and whether the proposed legislation in the Centre would affect in any way the working of the Act in this State?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—“I read that news item in the newspaper and I have no idea beyond that.”



வாய்மையே வெல்லும்
TRUTH ALONE TRIUMPHS

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[10th July 1952]

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—cont.

* SRI M. SITHARAMA DASS :—“అధ్యక్ష మహాశయ, నూతన రాజ్యాంగములో ప్రపథమముగా మన మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రానికి కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము ఏర్పడి, రాజాజీ ప్రధానికిగా వచ్చిన వెంటనే ముఖ్యముగా ప్రజలను అందోళనపరుస్తూ స్వ.టువంటి ఆహార పదార్థాల కంట్రాక్టును తొలగించినందుకుగాను నేను నా నియోజకవర్గపు ప్రజల తరఫున మనఃపూర్వకముగా వారికి ఆభినందనలు తెలియపరుస్తున్నాను. సగువాత యీ ప్రభుత్వము తయారుచేసినటువంటి బడ్జెటులో కమ్యూనిటీ ప్రాజెక్టులను గరించి అనగా మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములో వి ఆహార కొరత అయితే రాష్ట్ర ప్రజలను వీడించినట్లైతే అటువంటి ఆహార కొరతను వెంటనే అనగా కొద్ది సంవత్సరాలలోనే తొలగించే ఉద్దేశముతో ఏర్పాటు చేయబడినటువంటివి, వీటికిగాను బడ్జెటులో అనేక లక్షల రూపాయలు కేటాయించినందుకుగాను ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కొనియాడుచున్నాను.

“అయితే ఆంధ్రదేశములోని వి నెంట్రల్ జిల్లాలలో ఆహార పదార్థాలను అధికంగా ఉత్పత్తిచేస్తూ సరఫరా ప్రాంతాలని అనిపించుకొంటున్నదో, ఆ నెంట్రల్ జిల్లాలకు ప్రాజెక్టుల సౌకర్యములు, యితర యిర్రిగేషన్ సౌకర్యములు ఇచ్చుటలో ప్రభుత్వము సవతి తల్లిదూపు చూస్తుందనుకు విచారించు. ఈ విషయాన్ని గురించి కొంత మనవిచేస్తూ కొన్ని సలహాలు ఇస్తున్నాను. పశ్చిమ గోదావరి, కృష్ణా జిల్లాల ఆహార విషయములో యిప్పటికి స్వయంసమృద్ధి జిల్లాలు అని అందరకు తెలిసిన విషయమే. అయితే ఆ ప్రాంతాలలో బుడమేరు, తమ్మిలేరు, ఎర్రకాల్వ మొదలగు కాల్వలు అక్కడవున్న భూములపైకి వాటిని ముంచివేస్తూ ఆ విధముగా అనేకవేల యేకరాల పంట పట్టము చేయవచ్చును. దీనిని తొలగించడానికి ప్రభుత్వము ఇంతవరకు ఏమి శ్రద్ధచూపకుండా ఉన్నది. ఈ కాల్వలకు చిన్న చిన్న రిజర్వాయర్లు కట్టినట్లయితే తద్వారా కొన్ని వేల ఎకరాలు కొత్త భూమి సాగులోనికి వచ్చి యెక్కువ పంటను ఇచ్చును. మరియు ముంపురాకుండా వుంటుంది. అటువంటి ఎక్కువగా ఫలసాయాన్ని ఇచ్చేటటువంటి భూమిని ప్రభుత్వమువారు ఎందుచేత సవతితల్లి చూపుతో చూస్తున్నారో నాకు బోధ పడడములేదు. దీనిని వారిదృష్టికి తీసుకురావలసిన ధర్మము మా మీద అనగా రెజిస్ట్రేటరులమీద ఉన్నది, గనుక దీనిని వారి దృష్టికి తీసుకువచ్చున్నాను. కనుక ఈ నెంట్రల్ జిల్లాలకు ఈ చిన్న చిన్న రిజర్వాయర్లు కట్టించినట్లయితే ఎక్కువ ఫలసాయము లభించ గలదని వారికి సలహా ఇస్తున్నాను.

“తరువాత యిప్పుడు బడ్జెటులో కొత్త పన్నులు సూచించారు. ఇప్పుడు రైతులకు ఉండే కష్టపరిస్థితులలో ఇప్పటికే పన్నులు భరించలేకుండా ఉన్నారు. కనుక ఈ పన్నులను తాత్కాలికముగా నిలుపుదల చేయవలసిన ప్రజల తరఫున నేను మనవి చేయచున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా మనము దేశముయొక్క స్వాతంత్ర్యము కొరకు సంవత్సరాల పర్యంతము పోరాడి పోరాడి ఇప్పుడే స్వాతంత్ర్యమును సంపాదించుకో గలిగాము. ఇప్పుడు స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చిన తరువాత ఇండియన్ యూనియన్ లో ప్రపథమముగా నూతన రాజ్యాంగము ప్రకారము అడల్టు ప్రాంతైజ్ ద్వారా ఎన్నికలు జరిగి రాజాజీ నాయకత్వాన కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము ఏర్పడి ప్రజలు ఎంతో ఉత్సాహముతో ఉండేటటువంటి సమయములో ఇప్పుడు కొత్త పన్నులు విధించడం అంటే ప్రజలకు చాలా నిరుత్సాహంగాను బాధగాను ఉంటుంది. అదిగాక ఈ పన్నులను వారు భరించలేరుకూడా. దేశానికి స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చినప్పుడు కాంగ్రెసు చేసినటువంటి మేనిఫెస్టోను ప్రజాగోపాలాచారిగారు ఒక పర్యాయము జ్ఞాపకము చేసుకోవలసినదని వారిని కోరుచున్నాను. 1930 వ సంవత్సరములో మేము పైలులో ఉన్న

10th July 1952] [Sri M. Sitharama Dass]

పుడు రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మాకు పాలిటికల్ క్లాసులు పెట్టినారు. అప్పుడు వారు కాంగ్రెసు సకమముగా, జయప్రదంగా నడవాలంటే కార్మిక కర్షకుల కష్టసుఖాలను మనము మనస్సులో ఉంచుకొని వారిద్వారా కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థకు బలాధ్యాన్ని సంపాదించుకోవలసియంటుంది అని మాకు చెప్పుతూయండేవారు. అటువంటి రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఇప్పుడు రాజకీయాధికారానికి వచ్చినారు అని, రైతులకు ఎంతో మేలుచేస్తారని వారియొక్క అన్ని కష్టాలు తొలగగలవని రైతాంగము, ఓడ ప్రజాసౌకమంతా ఆశతో ఉంటున్నారు. అలాంటప్పుడు ఈ కొత్త పన్నులు విధించడం రైతులను చాలా నిరుత్సాహపరుస్తుందని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇప్పుడు కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము రాజాజీ నాయకత్వము క్రింద వచ్చిన తరువాత కంప్యూటర్ను రద్దుచేశారు. అందుకు ప్రజలు చాలా సంతోషపడినారు. ఆ మాదిరిగానే వారిలో ఇంకా నూతనోత్సాహము కలుగజేయవలసియంటుందిగాని ఈ సమయములో వారిని నిరుత్సాహపరచకూడదు. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ప్రధానిగా వచ్చినారు గనుక, వారు మమ్ములను కష్టాల నుండి ఉద్ధరించగలరని అందుకు వారి సమర్థులని రైతులు ఎంతో కుతూహలముతో ఉంటున్నారు. అటువంటప్పుడు ఆ రైతులకు తగిన చేయూతనిచ్చి వారిని అన్ని విధాల ఉత్సాహపరచవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను. ఇప్పుడు రైతులైన సర్చార్జీలు వేశారు. నిజంగా ఇవి రైతులు భరించలేరని చెప్పుచున్నాను. నిజంగా రైతులంటే వారు అన్ని కష్టాలకు ఓర్చి పంట పండించి పట్టణాలకు ధాన్యము పంపించి పట్టణాల్ని టిఫిన్ ఫీడ్ చేస్తూ వాటిని కాపాడునటువంటివారని గుర్తించవలసియంటుంది. దేశానికి రైతే పెన్నెముక అని భావించి, రైతు పుష్టిగా ఉంటేనే రాజ్యాంగము పుష్టిగా ఉంటుంది. రైతు బాగుపడితేనే దేశము బాగుపడుతుంది అనే కాంగ్రెసు సిద్ధాంతాన్ని కొంచము మరుగుపరచి ఈ నాడు ఆ రైతుమీదే విపరీతమైనటువంటి సర్చార్జీలు వేయడం చాలా అసమంజసము, రైతులు భరించలేరని నేను మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా మనము Grow More Food Campaign ను బలపరచాలని, మనకు ఎక్కువ గ్రోయర్సు కావాలని అంటున్నాము. రాజాజీగారు తాను ప్రధాన మంత్రి అయిన తరువాత వారి మొదటి ఉపన్యాసములో రైతు చాలా సుఖంగా ఉండాలి, రైతుమీదే రాజ్యాంగం నిలబడగలదు, రైతువల్లనే ఆహారకొరత తీరగలదు. ప్రభుత్వం రైతుకు అన్ని విధముల సహకరించగలదని చెప్పారు. కనుక ఈ రైతులను అన్ని విధాల ప్రోత్సహించి అనేకమైనటువంటి సౌకర్యములు కలుగజేయవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను. అన్ని సౌకర్యములు కలుగజేసి కరువు కాటకాలనుండి వారిని రక్షించుట కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వముయొక్క విధ్యుక్త ధర్మమనే విషయాన్ని ఈ నాడు రాజాజీ మరుగుపరచి వీరిపై విపరీతమైన పన్నులు వేయడం చాలా అన్యాయము. ఇది కాంగ్రెసు సిద్ధాంతాలకు చాలా విరుద్ధమైనటువంటిది. మరియు రైతులు ఈ పన్నులు భరించలేరు కూడాను. కనుక ఈ విషయాన్ని బాగా ఆలోచించవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని, ముఖ్యముగా రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని కోరుచున్నాను. అయితే రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు నిజంగా రైతులంటే ఎంతో అభిమానము, విశ్వాసము కలిగినటువంటివారు, రైతుల క్రేయస్సు కోరేటటువంటివారు. అయితే ఇప్పుడు బడ్జెటులో విదోలొటువచ్చిందని ఆలోచిస్తేమని బడ్జెటును సవరించవలసియన్నది గనుక, ఈ పన్నులు వేయవలసి వచ్చిందని వారు సమాధానము చెప్పవచ్చును. కాని బడ్జెటును వేరొకవిధముగా సవరించవచ్చును. మనందరికీ ఆహారాన్ని ఇచ్చి పోషించేటటువంటి రైతును కష్టపెట్టడమంటే మన పొట్టుమీద మనమే కొట్టుకొన్నట్లు అవుతుంది. వారు కష్టపడి పండించి మనకు ఆహారాన్ని అందచేస్తే తప్ప మనకు ఆహారములేదు. అటువంటప్పుడు వారిని కష్టపెట్టడమంటే మన పొట్టుమీద మనమే కొట్టుకొన్నట్లు కాక మరేమవుతుందో ఆలోచించుకోవలెను. కనుక

[Sri M. Sitharama Dass]

[10th July 1952]

మన పొట్టమీద మనమీ కొట్టుకోవడం ధర్మం కాదు. ఈ రీతిగా రైతును కష్టపెట్టడం సిద్ధాంతరీత్యా వ్యతిరేకము, అధర్మము, అన్యాయము అని నేను మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఆహార పరిస్థితిని అభివృద్ధిపరచువలెనని మనము కమ్యూనిటీ ప్రాజెక్టులు నిర్మించడం చేసేపుడు అందుకు ఆధారమైనటువంటి రైతులను ఉత్సాహపరుచుటకు బదులు వస్తుల భారముతో రైతును కృంగివేస్తే అతడు ఏ రీతిగా వ్యవసాయముచేయగలడో అలాచింత వలెను. కాబట్టి ఈ వస్తులను తాత్కాలికముగా నిలుపువలెనని, ఈ విషయములో ఒక Taxation Committee ని appoint చేసి వారి సలహాలు తీసుకొని public opinion కాబట్టి, అంతకు అవసరమైతే వచ్చే సంవత్సరము వీటిని అమలులో పెట్ట వచ్చునుగాని వెంటనే ఇప్పుడు ఈ వస్తులువేస్తే కాంగ్రెసుకు యిత్తులు ఉండే మర్యాదకు భంగము వాటిల్లగలదని చెప్పుచున్నాను. కాంగ్రెసుకు మర్యాద రావలసి యంటే రైతువల్లనే రాగలదు. కాంగ్రెసు బలపడవలసియుంటే కార్మిక కర్షకులవల్లనే బలపడగలదు. కాంగ్రెసు మర్యాదకు, బలానికి, ఉన్నతికి అంతటికి కార్మిక కర్షకులే ఆధారము. కార్మిక కర్షకులే కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థకు ప్రాణము. అటువంటి కార్మిక కర్షకులు మన దేశములో నూటికి ఎన్నభేమంది ఉన్నారు. మహాత్మాజీ ఒకప్పుడు “వినాదైతే కార్మిక కర్షకులు ప్రభుత్వానికి అధిపతులు కాగలరో అనాడే దేశానికి ముక్తి, మోక్షము” అని అన్నారు. కనుక ఏరైతే ఈ రాజ్యాంగానికి దేశానికి తీవ్రసాధారమైనటువంటివాడో అటువంటి రైతులను కష్టపెట్టి వారిపైన అధిక వస్తులు వేయడం అంటే చాలా విచారకరంగా ఉన్నది. అది గాంధీజీ సిద్ధాంతాలకు విరుద్ధమైనటువంటిది. ఈ సందర్భములో గాంధీజీ సిద్ధాంతాన్ని సూచించు ఒక చిన్న శ్లోకమును చెప్పుచున్నాను:

‘ఆపూర్వమాణ సుఖం ప్రతిష్ఠం
సముద్రమంపః ప్రవేశంతియద్యత్
తద్వక్కామాయం ప్రవేశంతి సర్వే
సశాంతిమాప్నోతి సకామకామి.’

కాంగ్రెసులో సత్యాగ్రహ వివిధంగా ఉండవలసి ఇందు చెప్పాడు. భగవద్గీతలో శ్రీకృష్ణుడు అర్జునునికి స్థితత్రజ్ఞుడు ఎట్లుండునని ఈ శ్లోకములో వివరించాడు. అదే శ్లోకాన్నే మహాత్మా గాంధీ సత్యాగ్రహ ఉండవలసినరీతి, కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థను గురించి చెప్పారు. కనుక ఇటువంటి కాంగ్రెసు సిద్ధాంతాలను వెనుకపెట్టుకుండా మహాత్మాజీ చెప్పినటువంటి వేదవాక్యాలను మరచిపోకుండా కార్మిక కర్షకులను కాపాడ వలసిన విధిక్యతము ప్రభుధమముగా ప్రభుత్వముమీదనే ఉన్నది అని గుర్తించవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను. నిజంగా రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అంటే కార్మిక కర్షకులకు కామ ధేనువువంటివారు అని అనుకొన్నామని అంటే అతిశయోక్తిలేదు. వారిపైన రైతుకు ఎంత విశ్వాసమున్నదో వారికికూడా రైతులపైన అంత అభిమానము ఉన్నది. కనుక ఈ విషయములో వారు పునర్విమర్శచేసి, రైతాంగానికి, రిండిలేక బాధపడుతున్నటువంటి వీడ ప్రజలకు ఈ కొత్త వస్తులనుగాని, బస్సు చార్జి హెచ్చింపుగాని వేయకుండా తాత్కాలికముగా వీటిని నిలుపువలెననివలసిందని మరల వారికి మనఃపూర్వకముగా మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. అయితే వారు అడగవచ్చు ‘How to balance the budget?’ అని. ‘Yes, for that also I can give suggestions’. ఇప్పుడు మామూలుగా 60 కోట్ల రూపాయలు ఆదాయము చూపుతున్నటువంటి రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వము ఒక మాడు కోట్ల రూపాయలను విదొ విధంగా సమరింపడమనేది కష్టము కాదు. అది ప్రభుత్వానికి చాలా తేలికైన సరి. అంతేకాకుండా నూతన రాజ్యాంగంలో

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ప్రథమముగా విర్వడినటువంటి కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వములో డిఫెన్స్ బడ్జెటు అని అనడం చాలా విచారంగా ఉంది. ఒకవేళ ప్రభుత్వము కొన్ని కొన్ని క్రొత్త సౌకర్యాలు, స్కీములు తలపెట్టియుండవచ్చుగాని ప్రథమముగా దేశానికి స్వరాజ్యము వచ్చిన తరువాత కార్మిక కర్షకులైన పన్నులు వేసి ఇటువంటి బడ్జెటును తయారు చేయడం చాలా ఆశ్చర్యంగాను, అసహజంగాను, కష్టంగాను ఉంటుంది. నేను పల్లెటూళ్లలో పుట్టి, పల్లెటూళ్లలో పెరిగాను కాబట్టి వారియొక్క కష్టసుఖాలు నాకు బాగా తెలుసును. అందుకేనే వారికష్టాలను ప్రభుత్వానికి తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. మొదట మన దేశానికి స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చిందని చాలా సంతోషించాము. స్వరాజ్య మంటే స్వర్గమునాము. ఈ మాదిరి పన్నులు వేస్తారని అనుకోలేదు. 1930 సంవత్సరములో రీనెట్టిమెంటు సమయమప్పుడు రూపాయకు 0-3-0 వేసినప్పుడు no-tax campaign నేను organize చేస్తూ దీనిని తిరస్కరించాను. అటువంటి వాళ్లకు మనమే మన రైతులనుండి పన్నులు వేయడానికి తయారుకావాలంటే చాలా అసమర్థంగాను, చాలా బాధగాను ఉంటుందని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇప్పుడు కంట్రీబ్ల్యు తీసివేశారు. అయితే ఆహారపదార్థాల ధరలు పెక్కి పోతాయో, క్రిందికి పోతాయో ఇప్పుడే తెలియదు. కనుక ఈ కంట్రీబ్ల్యును తీసివేసిన ఫలితంగా అధిక ధరస్థితులు ఎక్కు మారుతాయో కొంతకాలము గమనించి తరువాత అవసరమయితే పన్నులు వేయవచ్చును గాని ఇప్పుడే వేయడం న్యాయంగాదు. ప్రస్తుతం కంట్రీబ్ల్యు తీసివేశారని ప్రజలు చాలా సంతోషములో ఉన్నారు. అంతేకాకుండా కమ్యూనిటీ హాజెక్టులు తయారు చేస్తున్నారని కూడా సంతోషిస్తున్నారు. ఇట్లు ప్రజలు రెండు విధాల సంతోషముతో ఉన్నట్టువంటి సమయములో వారికి అధిక పన్నులు వేస్తే వారిలో చాలా విచారము కలుగజేస్తుంది. రెండు సంతోషాల వెనువెంటనే ఒక విచారము వస్తుంది. కాని ఈ రెండు సంతోషాలకంటే ఈ విచారమే ఎక్కువ ఆధిక్యముంది అని ప్రభుత్వానికి మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. కనుక రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని ఈ పన్నుల విషయాన్ని పున ర్విమర్శచేసి తాత్కాలికంగా వీటిని నిలుపుదలచేసి, దీనికి ఒక సబు కమిటీని ఏర్పాటుచేసి public opinion ను తీసుకొని ఆ ప్రకారము చేయవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను.

“తరువాత ఆంగ్లరాష్ట్రముగురించి, కృష్ణాలో పార్టీవారు ఈ ఆంగ్ల రాష్ట్రము వస్తే ఇదంతా కమ్యూనిస్టు రాష్ట్రము అయిపోతుందని డిఫెన్స్ రాష్ట్రము అయిపో తుందని, వెంట్రల్ గవర్నమెంటువారు డబ్బు యివ్వరనిచెప్పారు. అది చాలా పొర పాటు, ప్రతి ఆంగ్లడు ఆంగ్లరాష్ట్రము కావాలనే అంటున్నాడు. ఈ ఆంగ్లరాష్ట్రము వస్తే ఆంగ్ల ప్రాంతమంతా ఆరాజకమాతుందని ఎవరుగాని అభిప్రాయ పడుతుంటు లేదు. అయితే ఆంగ్లరాష్ట్ర విషయములో మద్రాసు సమస్య అడ్డమురావచ్చు. మద్రాసులేని రాష్ట్రము మాకు అక్కరలేదు అనవచ్చు, నిజమే, అయితే ఈ మద్రా సులో తమిళులు ఉన్నారు. తెనుగువారు ఉన్నారు, నూటికి ధాదాపు 45, 50 మంది ఆంగ్లలుండవచ్చును, కనుక ఈ మద్రాసును వి ఒక్కరికీగాకుండా తెలుగువారి సంఖ్య తమిళుల సంఖ్యయుబట్టి proportionate గా విభజించినట్లయినను మాకు అభ్యం తరములేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విషయములో కావలసినవస్తే ఒక విభజన కమిటీ వేసి ఆ ప్రకారముచేయవచ్చును. ఈ లోగా తాత్కాలికంగా ఆంగ్లరాష్ట్రాన్ని ఏర్పాటు చేయవచ్చును. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు భాషా రాష్ట్రాల నిర్మాణానికి సుముఖులే యని నమ్ముచున్నాను. 1937 వ సంవత్సరములో రాజాజీ ముఖ్యమంత్రిగా ఉన్నప్పుడు ఆంగ్ల రాష్ట్రానికి వ్యతిరేకులనివచ్చిన ఆశవాదమును ఈ నాగు వారిచేతులనుండి ఆంగ్ల రాష్ట్రమును ప్రసాదించి సదరు ఆశవాదమును పోగొట్టుకుంటారని వారిని కోరు

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చున్నాను. ప్రస్తుత పరిస్థితులనుబట్టి త్వరలో ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము విచ్ఛేదబోతుందనే విషయము వారికికూడా తెలిసినదే. కనుక ముందుగానే బడ్జెటులో ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతానికి వేరుగా రాబడినిబట్ట మొత్తాలను కేటాయించే బడ్జెటును ఆ విధముగా తయారు చేస్తే చాగుంటుందని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

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p.m. “తరువాత ఇప్పుడు కో-ఆపరేటివ్ లిల్లింగు సొసైటీలు ఉన్నవి. ఈ సొసైటీలు దాదాపు 2, 3 కోట్లు ఖర్చుపెట్టి లిల్లింగులు కడుతున్నారు. అయితే ఈ సొసైటీలు ఎందుకు నిర్మించాలో, ఈ సొసైటీలు కట్టిస్తున్న యింట్లు ఎవరికి ఉపయోగపడుతున్నవో ఎవరికోసము ఇవి నిర్మిస్తున్నారో ప్రభుత్వమువారు ఆలోచించుకోవలసి యుంటుంది. వీరు కట్టిన ఇల్లు గాంధీనగర్ కు పోయి దూచినట్లయితే అక్కడ ఒక కోటి నలుబది లక్షల రూపాయలు ఖర్చుపెట్టి పెద్ద పెద్ద ఇంట్లు కట్టారు. ఈ ఇంట్లు నిజంగా వీడ వానికి, కార్మికులకుగాను కట్టారా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఈ ఇంట్లన్నీ పెద్ద థనీ కులు, అఫీసర్లు ఉండేటందుకేగాని వీడ ప్రజానీకానికికాదు, వీడ ప్రజానీకానికి ఏమి ఉపయోగములేని ఈ సొసైటీలకు సంవత్సరానికి 60 లక్షలు యిస్తూ, 75 లక్షల రూపాయలు సర్వచార్జీల ద్వారా రాబట్టుకొంటున్నారంటే ఎంత అన్యాయముగా ఉంటుందో ఆలోచించుకోవలసియుంటుంది. ఈ విధంగా గాంధీనగర్ లోను, బెజవాడ లోను, మధురలోను తరువాత కోయంబత్తూరులోను ఈ కో-ఆపరేటివ్ సొసైటీలు అఫీసర్లకు, పెద్ద పెద్ద వారికి యింట్లు కట్టివ్వడానికా రెవల్యూషన్ ఈ సర్వచార్జీలు వేయడం? అని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని అడుగుతున్నాను. కనుక రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ విషయాలన్నీ జాగ్రత్తగా పరిశీలించి పరిస్థితులు సవరించగలరని అనిపిస్తున్నాను. ఏనాడైనా వారినుండి మన రాష్ట్రము అభివృద్ధి చెందవలసియుంటుంది. వారినుండి మనకు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము రావలసి వుంటుంది. వారినుండి కాంగ్రెస్ అభివృద్ధి పొందవలసివుంటుంది. నిజంగా ఈ విషయాలన్నీ వీరి దృష్టిలోకి వచ్చినట్లయితే ఇటువంటి అన్యాయాలకు దోహద మివ్వరని నా దృఢ అభిప్రాయము. కనుక రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అన్ని విషయాలను పునర్విమర్శన చేసి సవరించవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను.

“తరువాత ఈ బడ్జెటులో మద్రాసుకును, రాష్ట్రములోని ఇతర ప్రదేశాలకును వివిధంగా మొత్తాలను కేటాయించారని దూచినట్లయితే మద్రాసు సీటికి 17 లక్షలు ప్రత్యేకంగా యిచ్చి, రాష్ట్రములోని 64 మునిసిపాలిటీలకును, 24 జిల్లా బోర్డులకు 9 లక్షలు మాత్రమే గ్రాంటు ఇచ్చారు, ఈ లాంటి విభజన సబబుగాదని మనవిచేయు చున్నాను. మద్రాసు సీటియొక్క విస్తీర్ణము ఎంతో, మొత్తము రాష్ట్రముయొక్క విస్తీర్ణము ఎంతో గుర్తించి ఆ ప్రకారము గ్రాంటులు ఇవ్వడము సబబుగాని ఇంత వ్యత్యాసముతో యివ్వకూడదు. ముఖ్యంగా స్థానిక సంస్థలను ఎక్కువ బలపరచ వలసిన అవసరమున్నది. నిజంగా స్థానిక సంస్థలకు ఎక్కువ అధికారాలుకూడా ఇస్తామనిచెప్పారు. కనుక వారు చెప్పిన మాటప్రకారమే ఈ స్థానిక సంస్థలకు ఎక్కువ అధికారాలు మరియు ఆర్థిక బలముకూడ ఇవ్వవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను. స్థానిక సంస్థల ద్వారానే నిజంగా ప్రభుత్వము బలపడగలదు. స్థానిక సంస్థలు ప్రత్యేకంగా ప్రజలమధ్య ఉండి ప్రజల కష్టసుఖాలను చూస్తున్నటువంటి సంస్థలు కాబట్టి వాటి ద్వారానే ప్రజలకు మేలు కలుగడానికి వీలుంటుంది. ఏ విషయంలో గాని immediate గా ప్రజలకు సహాయము వలసియుంటే స్థానిక సంస్థలే తేయ గలవు గాని ప్రభుత్వముచేయుటకు అంత అవకాశముండదు. కనుక స్థానిక సంస్థలకు అధికారాలు మరియు గ్రాంటులు ఎక్కువగా ఇవ్వవలెనని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ముఖ్యంగా రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని కోరుచున్నాను.

10th July 1952] [Sri M. Sitharama Dass]

“ఇంక ప్రాహిలిక్ విషయములో, నిజంగా కాంగ్రెసు, మహాత్మాజీయొక్క సిద్ధాంతాల ననుసరించినట్లయితే ఈ ప్రాహిలిక్ ఉండవలసిందేగాని దానిని అమలులో పెట్టినటువంటి విధానము ఇప్పుడు సరిగాలేదు. ఇది strict గా enforce చేసి జయప్రదించేస్తే మహాత్ముని ఆత్మ సంతోషిస్తుంది గాని దీనిని strict గా enforce చేయలేకపోతే దీనిని శ్రీగా వదలివేసేది మంచిదని సలహా యిస్తున్నాను. ఈ విషయంలో విలాంటి sentiment గాని అధ్యంతరముగాని ఉండనవసరములేదు. దీనిని free గా వదలివేసినట్లయితే ప్రాహిలిక్ అట్టుక్రింద ప్రభుత్వము ఖర్చు చేస్తున్న 76 లక్షల రూపాయలు మనకు లభించగలదు. ప్రస్తుతం ప్రాహిలిక్ సరిగా అమలు తిరుగకపోవడమే కాకుండా ఇంత మొత్తము వృథాగాపోతున్నది. ప్రాహిలిక్ కు పూర్వము నూటికి ఎనిమిదిమంది త్రాగేవారంటే, ఇప్పుడు నూటికి 36 మంది త్రాగుతున్నారు. ఎక్కడ చూచిన కొంక సారాయి తయారుచేస్తున్నారు. దీనిని ప్రభుత్వము అరికట్టలేక పోతున్నందువల్ల ప్రజలు చెడిపోతున్నారు. ప్రాహిలిక్ అమలులో వుండకూడా త్రాగుడు ఎక్కువైపోయింది. కనుక ఈ ప్రాహిలిక్ ను గాంధీ సిద్ధాంతాన్ని అనుసరించి, నిజంగా జయప్రదంగా చేయాలంటే దీనిని సీరియస్ గా తీసుకొని strict గా అమలు జరిపి అరు మానాలు ప్రయత్నించి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి efficiency ని రుజువు చేయవలసిన వారిని కోరుచున్నాను. ఈ విషయంలో వారికి legislators మైన మనము అన్ని విధాలా సహకరిస్తూ వారికి తగిన సహాయముచేయుటకు సిద్ధంగా ఉండవలసిన సభ్యులందరిని కోరుచున్నాను. కనుక ఈ ప్రాహిలిక్ ను సరిగా పరిశీలించి, తగిన సవరణలుచేసి దానిని సరియైన పద్ధతులలో strict గా అమలు జరుపవలసని కోరుచున్నాను.

“ఇంకొక విషయము మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి నాయకత్వన ఉన్న కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీకి నేను చెందివుండినా ఈ మాదిరి కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వ విధానాలను విమర్శిస్తూ వారికి సలహాలు ఇస్తున్నానంటే నన్ను అన్యధా భావించకూడదని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. పట్టెటూళ్లలోని ప్రజల, బీదరైతాంగము యొక్క ఇబ్బందులు ప్రత్యేకముగా చూస్తున్నాను కాబట్టి వారి ఇబ్బందులు చూడలేక వాటిని తొలగించే ఉద్దేశముతో ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టికి ఈ విషయాలు తీసుకు రావలసి వచ్చి ఈ విధముగా వెళ్ళుచున్నాను. అంతేగాని మరి ఏ హేళనభావనలోగాదు. ఇందుకు ఒక ఉదాహరణము చెప్పుచున్నాను. పూర్వము రామదాసు బందిఖానాలో ఉండి తానిపాచే నానావిధముల బాధించబడుచుండినప్పుడు, రామదాసు ఆ బాధలకు ఓర్వలేక ఏ విధముగానైతే శ్రీరామచంద్రుని చూపించినాడో, ఏ రీతిగానైతే ప్రేమతో చూపించినటువంటి ఆ మాటలు నిష్కళంకమైనవో, అదేవిధముగా ఈ విషయములో కూడ ప్రజల యిబ్బందులు చూడలేక ఈ విధముగా ప్రభుత్వ విధానాన్ని విమర్శించి సలహాలు ఇవ్వవలసినవచ్చిందిగాని మరే ఉద్దేశముతోగాదు. కనుక నా మాటలనుకూడా అదే sense తో తీసుకోవలసిందని, అన్యధా భావించవలదని శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారి గారిని కోరుచున్నాను. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు చాలా అనుభవము కలవారు, ప్రజల కష్టాలు, ముఖ్యముగా రైతులయొక్క యిబ్బందులకూడా తెలుసును. కనుక గ్రామాభివృద్ధి పట్టణాభివృద్ధిని, దేశాభివృద్ధిని కారణమనియు కార్మిక కర్షకులు పుష్టిగాఉంటేనే రాజ్యాంగము దేశము పుష్టిగా ఉంటుందని గుర్తించి మహాత్ముని ముఖ్య ఐచ్ఛలైటువంటి ముఖ్య మంత్రి అయినటువంటి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు, గాంధీజీ సిద్ధాంతాలను మరొక పర్యాయము జ్ఞాపకము తెచ్చుకొని, గాంధీజీ వేదవ్యాయాలను ఒకమారు మననముచేసికొని ప్రస్తుతము బడ్జెటులో చూపినటువంటి అధిక పన్నులను

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తాత్కాలికంగా నిలుపుదలచేయవలెనని ఉదేశ్యం వారిని కోరుతూ వారికి పరమేశ్వరుడు దీక్షాయార్థోన్మకులిచ్చుగాక యని పరమేశ్వరుని ప్రార్థనూ విరమిస్తున్నాను.”

* SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, before going into the criticism of the Budget, I cannot but refer to the statement by the Hon. the Chief Minister that the Opposition, namely, the U.D.F., is an Opposition for opposition sake and that even if he were to accept the policy of the Opposition, the Opposition would rather change its policy and oppose him rather than support him and carry out the policy. If he has this conception, I am afraid he must have already come to the conclusion that there is no use with this type of legislature; the Congress might command a majority now along with its allies, unstable allies who could not be relied upon and we do not know what will happen to those allies when the actual cut motions come up. In such an unstable position, it is natural for the Hon. the Chief Minister to come to the view that this Legislature is of no use and the only remedy is to dissolve it and have Governor's rule or a re-election. In order that the people might be saved from the necessity of another election—of course we are not afraid and we are prepared for any number of elections as we did at Kakinada—to save a lot of time and energy, I want to tell plainly to the Hon. the Chief Minister that he is very wrong in his opinion that it is only an Opposition for opposition sake. He must very carefully understand what the Opposition is saying and what it is doing. Then I think he will not come to that conclusion. That is why I want to state that the U.D.F. was formed long before Rajaji thought of taking up the reins of office and we adopted a programme and it is printed and it is being sold openly. If he is serious in the view he holds about us, I ask him to accept our programme which is commended not only by the so-called Leftist Press but even by papers like the *Times of India* to the Congress to implement. Let him accept that programme and see what the Opposition is going to do, whether it is going to act in the way he anticipated or otherwise.

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“ Sir, another accusation that is levelled against the Opposition is that they do not want new taxes to be levied even if they are imposed on rich people but at the same time they want the grievances of the people to be redressed. He asks how it is possible and lays the blame on the Opposition. Sir, I feel that if at all anybody is to blame, it must be the Congress Party. When I was a boy, I used to hear the speeches of Congress leaders. They always complained that the then Government were spending so much money on administration and that the Board of Revenue and the posts of Secretaries to Government should be abolished and that there should be a decentralised administration—Grama Swaraj. They also said that with the reduction of expenditure thus effected in the administration, they could not only avoid the

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levy of new taxes but could also do away with some of the existing taxes. That was the conception of Government that they had in view when the foreign Government was here. But after the Congress came into power, have they implemented those policies? No. They have not carried out even one of those policies. Therefore, the blame must be laid at the door of the Congress Party. They said that they would abolish the Board of Revenue if they came to power. Now I want to know whether the Government are ready to abolish the Board of Revenue which they had criticised in the past.

“ Now, Sir, I come to the Budget proper. We are not criticising this Budget simply because it is a deficit budget or there are new taxation proposals in it. Also, we are not against the expansion of currency as a matter of principle as proposed by the Central Government. But the acid test of a good Budget is whether it is designed to develop the wealth of the country by increasing food production and expanding industries.

“ Sir, it has been said that the Communists do not want the people to work harder but, at the same time, they want the prices of all the necessities of life to be reduced as if these things could be done overnight with a magic wand as it were. Sir, what the people want is that every pie that they are paying to the Government should be spent properly and in the interests of the people. Then they will not grudge any sacrifice that the Government may ask them to make. Take the case of China. After nearly 25 years of war and the utter devastation of their whole economy, within two years they have accomplished many things. They are now self-sufficient in food and have even exported rice to our country. Sir, this is not my opinion but it is the opinion, the considered opinion of the Government-sponsored Good-will Mission—a majority of its members are Congressmen—which went to China recently. They could accomplish all these things because the Chinese Government were able to enthuse the people to work harder for the good of their country. But this Congress Government, after having ruled more than five years, are not in a position to enthuse the people to such an extent though our country possesses immense manpower. This manpower is not put to proper use and is not being utilised by this Government for the good of the country. There are hundreds of thousands of able-bodied persons in our country but they are not given any work. If the Government are really interested in the prosperity and well-being of the people, they could utilise the services of these able-bodied persons and the vast manpower, that is at our disposal for the development of industries and the execution of irrigation projects. Unfortunately, the Government have got into a vicious circle. I ask, can the Government say that the people are in a position to pay further taxes? I am sure, nobody can reply to that question in the affirmative and for that matter, nobody has said so. Still the Government feel the need for new taxes. They

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say that if the Government are to be run, people must pay new taxes. Sir, they must get out of this vicious circle and find out by what means they can increase the purchasing power of the people. In this way they can demand sacrifices on the part of the people who will not grudge them. But the unfortunate thing is the starting point of the Government for everything is fresh taxation. Sir, my starting point is increase in the purchasing power of the people. You may ask what do you want us to do? I would suggest a very modest programme for increasing the purchasing power of the people who are living in the villages and who constitute about 80 per cent of the population. My programme will cost nothing to the Government. But I do not think this Government and the Congress Party which consists of many big landlords will agree to this programme. If this programme is accepted, there is no necessity even for closing down factories but on the other hand able-bodied persons also could be utilized for the good of the nation. This agrarian programme is recommended not only by Communists—though they have been demanding the implementation of agrarian reforms for a long time—but by the United Democratic Front which consists of several parties. In this connexion, I shall just read out to you some of the agrarian reforms suggested by the United Democratic Front—

“(1) Security of tenure to the tiller subject to payment of fair rent, providing for a minimum for home-farm cultivation to the landowner.

(2) Reduction of high rents and fixation of fair rents, banning of all feudal levies and dues.

(3) Stopping enforcement of the Malabar Tenancy Act pending new legislation on the question.

(4) Restoring land illegally and forcibly occupied by zamindars, inamdars and other landlords since 1947, and cancelling all benami pattas given by them without causing any loss to the *bona fide* purchasers.

(5) Assigning waste, banjar and lanka lands to agricultural labourers and peasants.

There are so many other reforms suggested by the United Democratic Front. It is not a big programme and so can be implemented here and now. The implementation of this programme does not require a big revolution. It does not want any financial assistance for its implementation. Therefore, I commend this programme to the Government.

“Sir, the previous Government passed the Zamindari Abolition Act but I do not know how far it has actually helped the ryots. It might have helped them in a very few places. The only difference between then and now is that instead of the zamindar, the Government are collecting the rents. In some cases, the Government have brought the rents to the level prevailing in the adjoining ryotwari area. For instance, in Challapalli the rent has been raised from Rs. 3 to Rs. 6. So, the Krishna district has not been benefited by the abolition of zamindaris but on the other hand the rent has been increased. Perhaps the Chittoor district might have been benefited for the rent has been reduced there. Be that as it may, the abolition of zamindaris has not given any land

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to the tiller of the soil. Therefore, I suggest we should have a tenancy legislation so that we can confer occupancy rights on tenants. I do not think this Government will undertake such a legislation at all. Sir, you know the last Congress Government appointed a Land Revenue Reforms Committee and that Committee submitted a report to the Government. That report consists of two parts. The first part related to the problem of tenants and agricultural labourers. I want to know what has happened to that report. Nothing has come out of that report and I did not find any reference to it even in the Budget speech of the Hon. Finance Minister. Sir, that report was produced at the cost of public money but nothing has come out of it. This Government have no mind to tackle the tenancy problem at all.

“ Sir, there are a lot of sivoijama and banzar lands especially in Rayalaseema and in some parts of Guntur. Those lands are under the occupation of big landlords and our Ministers who come from Rayalaseema know it very well. Sir, they got thousands of acres from the British Government when they started the Grow More Food Campaign. They are not cultivating anything but on the other hand they have given them on rent and actually they have become rent collectors. With regard to sivoijama lands, I can give one example. In Ongole, a landowner is in possession of about 1,500 acres of land. He is not cultivating all these lands. He is able to cultivate only 50 to 60 acres of land. The rest is left uncultivated. The Government have not cared to look into matters of this kind. I ask, why not these lands be given to landless agricultural labourers who are mostly Harijans. What is the use of passing the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act and setting apart Rs. 4 lakhs for the welfare of Harijans. All these things will not help the Harijans to the extent that it will help them if they are given these fallow and uncultivated lands. But on the other hand, they are giving lands to persons who already own hundreds of acres given to them by the British or the previous Congress regime. Sir, I am not suggesting a revolutionary reform. I am only suggesting a reform which can be implemented. Even the Agrarian Reforms Committee set up by the Congress under the Chairmanship of Shri Kumarappa has gone into the tenancy problem and produced a big report. That Committee also stressed the need for the immediate implementation of the agrarian reforms so that the purchasing power of the people could be increased. Here are some of the recommendations of that Committee—

(1) Banning of all future letting and sub-letting and fixing the maximum holding to three times the economic holding, and

(2) In the meanwhile, a tenant in continuous possession for six years to get occupancy right with retrospective effect.

The Bombay Tenancy Act of 1948 has fixed ten years for a tenant to get occupancy right.

(3) Early implementation of the Minimum Wages Act for agricultural labour through Wage Boards and free house-sites,

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About fair rent, the Committee recommended that one-fourth of the yield from the irrigated land should go to the landlord and three-fourths to the tenants. In the case of lands other than irrigated land, they recommended one-third to the landlord and two-thirds to the tenants. Sir, this recommendation is taken from the Bombay Tenancy Act, which has adopted the recommendation of the Kumarappa Committee.

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"Sir, the previous Congress Government in its report has made several recommendations. According to its report, the minimum period of lease should be five years for ordinary land, and in the case of virgin land the first lease should be for ten years. As regards fair rent, the landlord's share should be 40 to 45 per cent and the tenant's share should be 55 to 60 per cent. Agricultural expenses are to be borne by the tenant and the land-tax should be paid by the landlord.

"Sir, the United Democratic Front has put forward some concrete proposals, on the basis of which I put these proposals. Out of the net produce, excluding all agricultural expenses including land tax, one-fourth should go to the landlord and three-fourths should go to the tenant. All the tenants are to get occupancy rights. Sivoijama and banjar lands are to be given to agricultural labourers. Free house-sites are to be assigned to them. The Minimum Wages Act 1948 should be applied to Agricultural labour. Sir, these are some of the broad suggestions we have suggested. I do not see why the Government should not accept these suggestions and bring a tenancy legislation on these lines immediately.

"As regards expenditure, Sir, yesterday Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar told us that the Centre is encroaching on State finance. I want to say, it is misusing public money. For instance, out of a budget of rupees 4 hundred crores, it is spending Rs. 197 crores on the army. Why should there be such an army for us? If really we want an army, let us have a small well-trained standing army. Let all able-bodied persons be given military training and they will fight for the country when the occasion arises. So, why should such a large sum as one hundred and ninety-seven crores be spent on the army? Why should public money be wasted on it? Last year the Centre was not spending so much; this year it has increased the expenditure by Rs. 16 crores more.

"Then, Sir, under income-tax, rich and influential people are exempted from paying income-tax. I find under income-tax arrears a sum of Rs. 150 crores. The Central Government made a compromise with these magnates and 100 crores have been waived; and only fifty crores have been collected."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Sir, I think we need not expatiate on these items which really fall under the purview of the Central Government."

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* SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“ Sir, I beg to submit it is relevant in this way. The Hon. Finance Minister in his speech has said that the Centre has not given us money. Now, why is it so? Because it has misused the money which it has collected from the people. That is why it is necessary for this Government to propose to the Central Government to reduce its expenditure on the army and spend on beneficial schemes.

“ Sir, I was saying that under income-tax Rs. 100 crores have not been collected, only rupees fifty crores are to be collected as arrears of income-tax. Sir, why should Government show such lenience towards rich and influential people?

“ Taking the Police Budget, I see it has increased from Rs. 3 crores to Rs. 7 crores under the Congress regime. One of the Members of this House was saying that the Police force should not be reduced even by one Policeman. Another wanted that it should be increased. I ask: Are we going to solve our social problems through the bayonet and the gun? If that is to be tried they will miserably fail in their attempt. For history has shown that such attempts have miserably failed. Now what is it that the Congress Ministry has achieved during the last five years in Krishna district? Is it not due to one Palaniappan? a notorious Police officer who made several people to go naked in procession, that the Congress Party was swept off from the Krishna district in the recent elections. Out of the twelve seats there, ten were captured by the Communists. At least, learn from the experience of the previous Congress Ministry, which was in power for the last five years. That is not the way of solving our social problems. That is why I ask Government to reduce the expenditure on Police. Without solving the main problem, other things are being done.

“ Then, Sir, there are several items on which expenditure has to be curtailed by Government. The Governor's expenses come to Rs. 10 lakhs. It is not necessary to spend so much. Rs. 64,000 is to be spent on gardens. It is also not necessary. Similarly, Sir, firka development scheme is a waste. It is a useless scheme. Nothing has been achieved under it. While Ministers go on tour it is only arranging for their reception. It is sheer waste of money to spend anything on it. Without solving the main problem, there is no use spending money on such palliatives.

“ In the end, Sir, I want to say one thing. Government have not cared to solve the linguistic problem. We find in this Council some Members speaking in Tamil, some Members speaking in Telugu and some Members speaking in Malayalam. Why should it be so? Where is the necessity for it? If the province is divided on the linguistic basis, there will be less time spent in deliberation, less energy spent on debates and less controversy on ever so many other matters. One of the leaders of the K.L.P. has said: if the Andhra province is now formed, the Communists will come to power. To this, I say, Sir, here, on the floor of this House, if the

[Sri C. Rajeswara Rao]

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Andhra province is not formed in the very near future, really there will be danger. If it is formed now or in the immediate near future, there might be a chance for the Congress contesting the elections. If the province is not to be formed in the near future, the Congress cannot contest at all. For, actually, in the recent general elections Andhra had 142 seats; of these, Congress got only 40 seats. Next time in the elections it would not get even these 40 seats. So Sir, this shows the feeling of the people. Therefore, Sir, I request Government and the Hon. Chief Minister particularly to see that the Andhra province is formed as early as possible.

“ Then, Sir, about irrigation projects I want to say a few words. Some of the members who spoke before me have dealt with this subject, about Ramapadasagar project and other irrigation projects. But what I want to say is that famine is a recurring phenomenon in Rayalaseema and in the dry taluks of Guntur district. In the Circars area there are some irrigation projects. It is not everywhere such projects are to be constructed immediately. They are to be constructed first where they are needed most. Sir, Government are spending every year on famine large sums of money and to save all that money they should first take up the irrigation projects in such areas, I mean, in the Ceded districts and in Visakhapatnam. These districts should be given preference over other districts in Andhra. The Krishna-Pennar project does not help Rayalaseema. Only six lakhs of acres will be irrigated in Rayalaseema under that scheme. If there are several people who can with the aid of statistics show that more acres will be benefited, I can also with the aid of statistics show that not many acres can be benefited by that scheme. For under this scheme large areas of good lands, excellent wet lands in Rayalaseema would be submerged; in Cuddapah district alone as many as 66 villages will be submerged. In the same way in Siddheswaram, by impounding water there, a number of villages will be submerged. That is why we say the Krishna-Pennar scheme should be rejected. In its stead, the Krishna Valley scheme, which includes Siddheswaram and Nandikonda schemes, and if possible Pulichintala scheme, should be taken up. This will serve all the present arid regions where famine now prevails almost every year, as a recurring phenomenon. I earnestly request Government to take up this scheme first. In this connexion, I want to warn Government of one thing. If they are to take up Krishna-Pennar project, they may rest assured that not one drop of water will be allowed to go elsewhere further down unless and until the people of these areas are fully satisfied. That is why I oppose the starting of the Krishna-Pennar project.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ As there are several hon. Members still to speak I fix ten minutes as the time limit for each member hereafter.”

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* SRI A. SUBRAMANYAM :—“ கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, என்னுடைய கருத்துக்களை யெல்லாம் வெளியிட வேண்டுமென்றால், பத்து நிமிஷ நேரம் போதாது. கொடுத்த நேரத்திற்குள் என்னுடைய வார்த்தையை முடித்துக்கொள்ள முயற்சிக்கின்றேன். தயவு செய்து இன்னும் கொஞ்சம் அவகாசமளித்தால் என்னுடைய கருத்துக்களை நன்றாக தெரிவிக்க முடியுமென்பதை தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்களால் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கும் இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை நான் வரவேற்கின்றேன். இது அவருடைய பட்ஜெட்டாக இருந்தாலும்கூட, இது முழுவதும் இந்த மாகாணத்தின் அரும் பெரும் தலைவராகிய கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களுடைய வரவு செலவுத் திட்டமென்பதை நாம் மறந்துவிட முடியாது. அவர் நல்ல தருணத்தில் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் பதவியேற்று, இந்த நாட்டில் அராஜகம் ஏற்படாமல் தடுத்திருக்கின்றார் என்பதை நாம் என்றுமே மறக்கமுடியாது. மக்களுக்கு ஆபத்து நேரப் போகின்றது. அதைத் தடை செய்யவேண்டும் என்ற முக்கிய கருத்து பெரியவர்களாக இருப்பவர்களுக்குத் தோன்றுவது சகஜம். அந்த முறையிலே கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நல்ல தருணத்தில் பதவியேற்றுக் கொண்டு, இந்த மாகாணத்திற்கு வழிகாட்ட முன் வந்திருக்கிறார்.

“ நல்லார் ஒருவர் உளரேல் அவர் பொருட்டெல்லார்க்கும் பெய்யும் மழை என்ற வாக்குப்படி அவர் பதவியேற்றவுடன் சென்னையிலுள்ள திலையே 18 அங்குல மழை பெய்ததும், ஒவ்வொரு ஜில்லாவிலும் சற்றேறக்குறைய கொஞ்சம் மழை பெய்ததும் ஒரு நல்ல அறிகுறியாக விளங்குகின்றது. இதை யார் எப்படி கூறினாலும் ராஜாஜி பதவி ஏற்றவுடன் மழை பெய்தது உண்மை.

“ ஏற்கனவே இந்த நாட்டில் அவர் பிரதம மந்திரியாயிருந்த காலத்திலேயே அவர் பல அரிய பெரிய காரியங்களைச் செய்திருக்கின்றார். மந்திரி சபையிலிருந்து சிறைக்கு சென்று திரும்பியவுடன், மறுபடியும், இந்த நாட்டின் தரதிருஷ்டவசமாக, திருப்பரங்குன்றத்தில் ஏற்பட்ட ஒரு தகராறிலில் அவர் விலகியது, பிறகு இந்த நாட்டில் ஏற்பட்ட எத்தனையோ தொல்லைகள்; எத்தனையோ கஷ்டங்களை சமாளிக்க முடியாத நிலைமை, மக்களில் ஒரு சில சூழ்ச்சிக்காரர்கள் செய்த காரியங்கள், அத்தனையும் ஒருங்கே சேர்ந்த இந்த மாகாணத்திற்குப் பெரிய கெடுதலை உண்டு பண்ணிவிட்டது. கெடுதல் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று நினைத்தவர்கள் அத்தனை பேர்களுக்கும் இப்பொழுது அவர்கள் தாங்கள் செய்த தீவினையின் பலனை உணரும்படியாக தற்பொழுதைய நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்றது. அவர்களும் அவர்களுக்குரிய பிராயச்சித்தத்தை அடைந்துக்கொண்டிருக்கின்றார்கள்.

“ கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் பதவியேற்றவுடன் தவறான அபிப்பிராயத்தை ஒரு சிலர் மக்களிடையே உண்டு பண்ணி வருகிறார்கள். எதிர்க்கட்சியாக இருக்கக்கூடிய ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணியிலுள்ள குறிப்பாக ஒரு சிலர் தங்களுக்குரிய ஒரு பத்திரிகையை வைத்துக் கொண்டு, ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் என்ன சொல்லுகிறார், அவருடைய கருத்து என்ன என்பதை உள்ளது உள்ளபடி எழுதாமல் மக்களுக்குத் தவறான முறையில் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் பிரசாரம் செய்கின்றார்கள்.

“ ஒன்றைக் குறிப்பிட விரும்புகின்றேன். கழுதையாக இருந்தாலும்கூட, அது எவ்வளவு கனத்தைச் சமக்க முடியுமோ அதைத் தான் அதன் மீது சுமத்த வேண்டுமென்று ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் ஒரு சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் சொல்லியிருக்கின்றார். கழுதை நான்கறிவு படைத்தது, அதற்குப் பகுத்தறிவு கிடையாது. தகுந்த சுமையைத்தான் அதன்மீது வைக்க வேண்டுமென்று அவர் சொன்னார். ஆனால், ஆறறிவு படைத்த மனிதர்களுக்கு, அதிக வரி போடமுடியாது. அவர்கள் தாங்கக்கூடிய அளவுக்குத் தான் வரி போடவேண்டுமென்று அவர் சூசகமாகக் குறிப்பிட்டார். உடனே, ‘மனிதர்களைக் கழுதையென்று கூறிவிட்டார் ராஜாஜி’ என்று இம்மாதிரி யெல்லாம் பத்திரிகையில் தவறாகப் பிரசாரம் செய்யப்படுகின்றது.”

[Sri A. Subramanyam]

[10th July 1952]

“மற்றுமொன்றைக் குறிப்பிட விரும்புகின்றேன். வரி கொடுப்பதற்கு நகைகளைக் கூட கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று அவர் கூறினால், அதையும் வேறு விதமாகப் பிரசாரம் செய்கின்றார்கள். ஒரு குடும்பத்தை நடத்தும்போது, செலவுக்கு பணம் போதவில்லையென்றால், நகைகளை விற்குவது குடும்பத்தை நடத்துகிறோம். அதே மாதிரி. இந்த மாகாணத்தை நடத்தக் கூடிய அரசாங்கம் ஒரு பெரிய குடும்பம். இந்தச் சபையில் இருக்கின்ற மந்திரிமார்களுள்ளோரும் பெரிய குடும்பத்தில் இருக்கும் அண்ணன், தம்பி, தகப்பன் போன்றவர்கள். இந்த அரசாங்கமாகிய பெரிய குடும்பத்தை நடத்தப் பணம் போதவில்லையென்றால், மக்கள் ஏதாவது கொஞ்சம் நகைகளைக்கூட விற்குவது வரியைக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று அவர் சொன்னால், உடனே, ஒரு சில பத்திரிகையில் ‘தாலியை வற்றுக்கொடுக்கும்படி சொன்னார்’ என்ற தவறான அபிப்பிராயத்தை மக்களிடையே பரப்பப்படுகின்றது.

“தாலியை வற்று வரியைக் கொடுக்கும்படிச் சொல்லவில்லையென்று தலைவர் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் மறுப்புக்கூறியிருக்கின்றார்கள். அப்படி மறுத்துக் கூறப்பட்டிருந்தபோதிலும், இங்கேயிருக்கும் ஒரு அங்கத்தினராகிய ஸ்ரீ ஆதித்தன் அவர்களுடைய பத்திரிகையான தினத்தந்தியின் தலைவங்கத் தில் நேற்று ‘தாலி விற்பனை’ என்று போடப்பட்டு, மறுபடியும் அம்மாதிரி தவறான அபிப்பிராயத்தை மக்களிடையே பரப்பப்பட்டு வருகிறது. இம்மாதிரி தவறாகத் திரித்துக்கூறும் பத்திரிகைகளின் மீது கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன். உண்மைகளைச் சொல்லும்போது உண்மையாக எழுதவேண்டுமா. உண்மையைத் திரித்து தவறான அபிப்பிராயத்தை மக்களிடையே பரப்பி, தவறான எண்ணங்களை உண்டு பண்ணக்கூடாது. எழுதுவதற்கு உரிமை (privilege) இருக்கிறதென்று சொல்லலாம். உண்மையைத் திரித்து தவறாகக் கூறுவதற்குத்தான் உரிமை இருக்கிறதா? மக்களிடம் பொய்யான பிரசாரத்தைச் செய்வதற்குத்தான் உரிமை இருக்கிறதா? என்று கேட்கின்றேன். உள்ளதை உள்ளபடியே பத்திரிகைகளில் எழுத வேண்டுமே தவிர, இம்மாதிரியான பிரசாரங்கள் இனி நடைபெற விடக்கூடாது என்பது தான் என்னுடைய நோக்கமாகும்.

‘இந்த சென்னை மாகாணத்தின் ஜனத்தொகை 5 கோடி 70 லட்சம் அதில் 2½ கோடி மக்கள் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள். ஆனால், Montague Chelmsford சேர்திருத்த காலத்திலிருந்து இது வரையில் சட்ட சபையில் பலர் மந்திரியாக இருந்து வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களில் ஒருவர் கூட மந்திரியாக இருக்கவில்லை. ராஜாஜி பதவியேற்றவுடன் இப்பொழுது இந்த மந்திரி சபையில் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் மூன்று பேர்கள் மந்திரிகளாக இருக்கிறார்கள். குறும்பர் வகுப்பைச் சேர்ந்த கனம் ஸ்ரீ நாகண்ணை கௌட் அவர்களும், மறவர் வகுப்பைச் சேர்ந்த கனம் ராமனாதபுரம் ராஜா அவர்களும், பட்டையாட்சி வகுப்பைச் சேர்ந்த கனம் ஸ்ரீ மாணிக்கவேலு நாயக்கர் அவர்களும் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களின் சார்பாக இந்த மந்திரி சபையிலே வீற்றிருக்கின்றார்கள். ஆனால், அவர்களுக்குரிய சரியான பங்கை பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்கள் அடையவில்லை யென்பதை மக்கள் உணர்வார்கள். இருந்தாலும் கூட, இத்தனை காலமாக அளிக்கப்படாத பிரதிநிதித்துவத்தை கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இப்பொழுது அளித்திருக்கின்றார்களென்றால், அவர் வரவேற்புக்குரியவர், அவர் போற்றுவதற்குரியவர் என்பதில் சிறிதும் சந்தேகமில்லை.

“முகவியமாக நாம் கவனிக்க வேண்டியது என்ன? 5 கோடி 70 லட்சம் ஜனத்தொகையுள்ள இந்த மாகாணத்தில் சுமார் 2½ கோடி ஜனத்தொகையுள்ள பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்கள் இருக்கும்போது, சட்டசபை பிரதிநிதிகளாக வண்ணார்கள் தேர்தலில் ஜெயித்து வரமுடியாதது, அம்பட்டர்களும் வரமுடியாதது. ஆனால் இப்பொழுது இப்படிப்பட்ட வசுப்பினரும், இன்னும் சில வகுப்பினரும் சட்டசபைப் பிரதிநிதிகளாக வருவதற்கு ‘நாமினேஷன்’ அளிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆசாரியார் (கம்மாள்) போன்ற பிற்பட்ட இனத்

10th July 1952]

[Sri A. Subramanyam]

தவர்களுக்கும் 'நாமினேஷன்' அளிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இத்தகைய செய்கைகளை நாம் மனமாற வரவேற்கின்றோம். ஆனால், ஏற்கனவே இருந்தவர்கள் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கு உத்தியோகங்கள், கல்வி வசதியளிப்பதிலும் சற்று அஜாக்கிரதையாக இருந்து வந்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்றுதான் கூற வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. ராஜாஜியைப் புகழ்ந்தீரே. அவர் அதைச் செய்து விடமாட்டாரா? என்று ஒரு சிலர் கேட்கலாம், அவர் செய்யவேண்டியதைச் செய்யத்தான் போகிறார் என்று நான் நம்புகிறேன்.

“எந்த மந்திரி சபையும் செய்ய முடியாததை ராஜாஜி அவர்களால் செய்யமுடியும். ரேஷன் கட்டுப்பாட்டை எடுத்து மக்களுக்கு நன்மையைச் செய்திருக்கின்றார். (அந்தக் காலம் வேறு; இந்தக் காலம் வேறு; நாங்களும் இந்தக் காலத்தில் பதவியில் இருந்திருந்தால் நாங்களும் தான் ரேஷனை எடுத்திருப்போம் என்று சிலர் சொல்லிக்கொள்ளலாம்.) என்.ஜி.ஓக்கள், உபாத்தியாயர்கள், இவர்களுடைய பிள்ளைகளுக்கு கல்விச் சலுகையை ராஜாஜி அளித்திருக்கிறார். இவருக்கு முன் மூன்று regime கள் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் நடந்தன. ஸ்ரீமான் பிரகாசம் காரு அவர்கள் பிரதம மந்திரியாக இருந்திருக்கிறார்; ஸ்ரீமான் ஓமாந்தூர் ராமசாமி மார்டியார் அவர்கள் பிரதம மந்திரியாக இருந்திருக்கிறார்; ஸ்ரீமான் குமாரசாமி ராஜா அவர்களும் பிரதம மந்திரியாக இருந்திருக்கிறார் அவர்களுக்கெல்லாம் இந்த யோசனை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கக்கூடாதா? என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். ஆனால், கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களுக்குத்தானே தோன்றியது, இந்த உபாத்தியாயர்களுடைய பிள்ளைகளுக்கும், என்.ஜி.ஓ.க்களுடைய பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் கல்விச் சலுகை அளிக்கவேண்டுமென்று; ஆகையால்தான் பொறுப்புள்ள ஒருவர், நீதியாக நடக்கக்கூடிய நன்றாகக் கற்றறிந்த பெரியார் ஒருவர் இந்த மாகாணத்திற்குத் தலைவராக இருக்கவேண்டியது அவசியமாக இருக்கிறது. அப்படிப்பட்ட இவர் தலைமை வகித்தவுடனே இந்த அரிய பெரிய காரியத்தை அவர் செய்திருக்கின்றார்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கு உத்தியோகம் வழங்கும் விஷயமாக, 14 ஸ்தானங்களில் 2 ஸ்தானங்கள் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கும், 2 ஸ்தானம் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கும், முற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கு மற்ற ஸ்தானங்களும் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. இம்மாதிரி வழங்குவதினால் நியாயமாக எதைச் செய்யவேண்டுமோ அதைச் செய்யவில்லை. நியாயமாக பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கு 8 ஸ்தானங்கள் கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டும், அதைக் கொடுக்கத்தவறியிருக்கிறார்கள், எனவே, மேற்கண்ட முறையை திருத்தியமைக்கவேண்டும்.

“வைத்தியம், இன்ஜினீயர் போன்ற தொழிற் கல்லூரிகளிலும் அவர்களுக்குரிய ஸ்தானங்களைக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும், இன்ஜினீயர் கல்லூரியில் சேருவதற்கு—மொத்தத்தில் 50%க்குக் குறையாமல் மார்க்குகள் வாங்கியிருக்கவேண்டுமென்றும், வைத்திய கல்லூரியில் சேருவதற்கு மொத்தத்தில் 45%க்குக் குறையாமல் மார்க்குகள் வாங்கியிருக்கவேண்டுமென்றும் இருக்கிறது. பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களால் அவ்வளவு மார்க்குகள் வாங்க முடியுமா என்பதை யோசித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்கள் ஏழைகளாகவும், கிராமத்தில் வசிக்கக்கூடிய விவசாயிகளின் பிள்ளைகளாகவும் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் கிராமங்களில் காந்த விளக்கில் படிக்கக்கூடிய நிலையிலும், பணவசதி இல்லாமலும் இருக்கிறார்கள், இந்தவிதமான நிலையில் இருக்கும் அவர்கள் எப்படி வேகமாக முன்னேறமுடியும்? முற்பட்ட இனத்துப் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு படிக்க வசதியிருக்கிறது, பண வசதியும் இருக்கிறது, அவர்களால் நிறைய மார்க்குகள் பரீட்சையில் வாங்கமுடிகிறது, போதிய வசதியில்லாமல் இருக்கும் பிற்பட்ட இனத்துப் பிள்ளைகளையும், முற்பட்ட இனத்துப் பிள்ளைகளையும் ஒரே விதத்தில் எண்ணிவிடக்கூடாது, பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களின் மாணவர்கள் குறிப்பிட்ட மார்க்குகள் வாங்குவதென்பது அசாத்தியம் ஆகையால் பிள்ளைகள் பரீட்சையில் வாங்கும் மார்க்குகளைக் கொண்டு அவர்கள் தகுதியையும், புத்தி கூர்மையையும் மதிப்பிட முடியாது.

[Sri A. Subramanyam]

[10th July 1952]

“உதாரணமாக, இந்த சென்னைப்பட்டனத்தில் வக்கீல்கள் பலர் இருக்கிறார்கள். எல்லா வக்கீல்களையும் ஒரே மாதிரிக் கூறிவிட முடியுமா? எல்லோரும் பி.ஏ., பி.எல். வரையில் படித்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஒரே சட்டத்தைத்தான் படித்திருக்கிறார்கள். சட்டம் எல்லோருக்கும் பொது. எல்லோரும் ஒரே படிப்பைப் படித்திருந்தும், விரலைவிட்டு எண்ணக்கூடிய ஒரு சிலர்தான் சட்டத்தைப்பற்றி நுணுக்கமாகப் பேசுவதற்கோ பணம் சம்பாதிக்கவோ முடிகிறது. மற்றவர்கள் அதே படிப்பைப் படித்திருந்தும், போதிய அனுபவமின்மையால் முன்னுக்கு வர முடியாமலிருக்கிறது. அதே முறையில் பிள்ளைகள் பரிசுஷியில் அதிக மார்க்குகள் வாங்காவிட்டாலும், அவர்கள் அனுபவத்தின் மூலமாகவும், வேலைத் திறன் மூலமாகவும் நுட்ப புத்தியை அடையக்கூடுமென்பதை மறந்துவிடமுடியாது. மார்க்கு விஷயத்தைக் கவனிக்காமல், அவர்களுக்குரிய விசித்திரத்தை அளிக்கவேண்டும். 25% என்று இப்பொழுது ஏற்படுத்தி இருப்பதை 50% ஆக உயர்த்தி பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களின் பிள்ளைகளை வைத்திய, இன்ஜினீயரிங் கல்லூரிகளில் சேர்த்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும்.

“ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு 15% ஸ்தானங்கள் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது, போதிய ஹரிஜன மாணவர்கள் வரவில்லையானால், முற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களையோ பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களையோ சேர்த்துக்கொள்ளலாம் என்று இருக்கிறது இது தவறு. ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குள்ள ஸ்தானங்களையும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் வரவில்லையானால் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கே ஒதுக்கி மொத்தம் அதை 40% ஆக வாவது மாற்றிக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பது என்னுடைய முக்கியமான கோரிக்கை.

“இந்த நாட்டில் எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் கம்யூனிசம் பேசப்படுகிறது. இந்த ஒரு ஆட்சியே நாட்டுக்கு உரியது என்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. கம்யூனிசத்தை நான் அறிவேன். 1923-ம் ஆண்டில் நான் ஒரு பெரிய கம்யூனிஸ்டாக இருந்தேன். (இப்பொழுது இல்லை) சிமையிலிருந்து செக்ஸ்தவாலாவை வாவழைத்ததற்கு நானே ஒரு காரணஸ்தன். சென்னை டிராமாவே தொழிற் சங்கத்தின் காரியதரிசிபாக இருந்திருக்கிறேன், அப்பொழுது நான் செய்த பல காரியங்களை அந்தக் காலத்தில் இருந்தவர்களுக்குப் புலப்படும், கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளுக்குப் பணம் ரஷ்யாவிலிருந்து வரவில்லை. அப்படி ரஷ்யாவிலிருந்து பணம் வருகிறது என்று சொல்வது பொய், என்பதாகச் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அந்தக் காலத்தில் ஸ்ரீமான் சிங்காரவேலு செட்டியார் என்று ஒருவர் இருந்தார். எனக்கு அவர் கம்யூனிஸ்டு பிரசாரத்திற்காக பணம் கொடுப்பார். எங்கிருந்து பணம் வருகிறது? என்று நான் கேட்பேன். அதற்கு அவர், ‘பாண்டிச்சேரியிலிருந்து கொண்டுவந்தேன்: கம்யூனிஸ்டு பிரசாரத்திற்காக ரஷ்யாவிலிருந்து பணம் வருகிறது; அதில் உனக்கும் கொஞ்சம் கொடுக்கிறேன்; நீயும் பிரசாரம் செய்’ என்று அவர் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார். இப்பொழுது இருக்கக்கூடிய கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் எல்லாம் புதியவர்கள். அவர்களுக்கு இது விஷயம் தெரியுமோ தெரியாதோ எனக்குத் தெரியாது. இந்த மாதிரி பிரசாரத்திற்கு எங்கேயோ இருந்து ஒரு நாட்டிலிருந்து பணம் வருகிறது. அவர்களுடைய கங்கானிகளாக இங்கே வேலை செய்து வருகிறார்கள். இந்த நாட்டின் வளம் இந்த நாட்டின் நிலவரம், பொருளாதாரம், ஜனத்தொகை, படிப்பு வசதி முதலியன என்ன என்று ஆராய்ச்சி செய்து பார்க்கவேண்டும். ‘ரஷ்யாவைப் பாருங்கள்’ என்று கர்ஜிக்கிறார்கள், ‘இந்தியாவைப் பாருங்கள்’ என்று நான் சொல்லுகின்றேன். ரஷ்யாவுக்குச் சுதந்திரம் வந்து சந்திரேற்குறைய 30, 35 வருஷங்கள் ஆயிற்று, சுதந்திரம் பெற்று 30 வருஷங்கள் ஆயிருக்கும் ரஷ்யாவைப் பார்க்கும்போது, இந்தியாவுக்குச் சுதந்திரம் வந்து 4 வருஷங்களுக்கூட ஆகவில்லை. அந்த 35 வருஷங்கள் இந்தியாவுக்குக் கிடைத்திருக்குமேயானால், ரஷ்யாவைவிட பன்மடங்கு மேலாக இந்த இந்தியா தேசம் விளங்கியிருக்கும். நல்ல திட்டங்களைக் கொண்டுவந்திருக்க நம்மால் ஆகுமென்பதை அந்த அன்பர்களுக்குத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

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* SRI N. SATYANARAYANA :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I congratulate the Finance Minister on presenting the Budget, though a deficit one with additional taxation. He has explained, Sir, how, on account of famine conditions, the deficit has arisen. The Government have spent Rs. 6 crores in Rayalaseema. I will say, not six crores, but even if sixty crores are spent in Rayalaseema, famine conditions could not be averted because, if you take the history of the last fifty years, you will find that year after year famine conditions have prevailed in Rayalaseema. The only way, therefore, of saving Rayalaseema is by undertaking large capital works and by improving its water facilities. I will just give you a few illustrations of how it was done in past generations. In the time of Sri Krishnadevaraya, thousands of tanks were dug and they were fed from the rivers and rivulets flowing in the Mysore and Hyderabad regions. These tanks were kept in constant repair in those days but during the 150 years or so of British rule, these tanks were neglected and the courses of the rivers have also been turned away. In the days of Sri Krishnadevaraya, Rayalaseema was known as Ratnalaseema but now it is known as ‘ Rallaseema ’, the land of stones. The Government must utilize the available water resources once again and see that famine is completely averted and ‘ Rallaseema ’ once again becomes ‘ Ratnalaseema.’

“ Sir, some of my hon. Friends are saying : why should we spend so much money on capital works? The money sunk on capital works will go for the development of these projects and unless we invest money on big projects we could never improve the lot of the villages. The money so sunk is not a loss. I appeal to the Government to borrow money and spend it on Rayalaseema. I have no objection, as one of hon. Friends suggested, to invest all the money we have on Rayalaseema. You can improve the Tungabhadra Project, improve the tanks and survey other resources. Water can be sent to Rayalaseema only when you harness the Krishna and the Godavari. Only then could we organize and improve the industries in Rayalaseema and establish industrial corporations for the purpose. The mineral resources of Rayalaseema could also be improved. It is abounding in barytes which could be usefully explored. All this could be accomplished only when water is sent to Rayalaseema from the Krishna and Godavari rivers. It has been said in the biography of Cotton written by his daughter that Cotton used to say that he could send water from Sind to the Ganges, from the Ganges to the Mahanadi, from Mahanadi to Godavari, from Godavari to Krishna, from Krishna to Pennar and from Pennar to Cauvery.

“ The late Sri S. Srinivasa Ayyangar had stated in one of his speeches that if he was given an opportunity, he would link all the rivers of India and bring the waters of the Ganges down to the rivers in the South, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Cauvery. We have attained our Independence. We should not be frightened by the criticisms of others that we are wasting our money on big

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projects. The United States of America, under the New Deal programme, spent 150 crores of rupees in one year for the construction of big river valley projects, laying out roads, improvement of villages, etc. Whatever money that we spend on such useful schemes is not a waste. It is an investment. Our Finance Minister has stated in the Budget that the total amount covered by the capital outlay during the last five years would be about 62 crores of rupees. This is not enough. Six hundred crores of rupees must be spent on these projects. Investment on these projects is not a loss. The Godavari project is giving the Government 19 per cent return and the Krishna project is giving 12 per cent return. Ninety-five per cent of the waters of the Godavari and 88 per cent of the waters of the Krishna are being wasted into the sea. If all the parties in the State, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Congress Party and other parties, instead of quarrelling among themselves, join together and make it possible for the investment of crores and crores of rupees on big capital schemes, then only we shall be able to improve our State. In Tamilnad we cannot improve the Cauvery project because 95 per cent of its waters have already been usefully utilized. My Friend, Mr. Mahomed Usman said that the Andhras are very niggardly in the matter of giving water to the City of Madras. I say, 'Let the Government take up the Nandikonda project and we can supply water not only to the districts in the Rayalaseema area but also the City of Madras'. It is the big river valley projects that can save our country and any amount spent on these projects will be a great gain to the country. Therefore the criticism levelled against the Government that they are spending large sums of money on capital projects is wrong. The more the Government spend on these projects, the more the people will be benefited. In this connexion, I must quote what Dharmaraja said to Lord Krishna :

‘గ్రాహ వాసో దైవ్యంబులు లేకుండగా

‘మమ్ము నిలబెట్టుము’ అని భారతములో చెప్పబడినది.’

“Food and housing are very essential. I congratulate Rajaji on his having boldly decontrolled food. But the people are not able to purchase the food available in the market because they have no purchasing capacity. Unless the Government sink more money on capital works, the poor people will not have the money to purchase the required foodgrains. Therefore my appeal to the Ministers of the Government is ‘Never be frightened to spend more money on capital works.’

“I congratulate the Ministry on spending six crores of rupees on famine works in the Rayalaseema. I want the Government to spend not six crores but sixty crores of rupees. Let the Government borrow money and invest them on big capital projects. These projects will not be a losing concern. I only want that the waters of the big rivers in this country are not wasted into the sea but are utilized for the good of the country.

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“ As regards the plight of weavers, the Government of Madras have done yeoman service by starting the Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society, and annually giving them two crores of rupees. But still, Sir, the plight of the weavers is miserable. Formerly the weavers were suffering from dearth of yarn. Now, when there is surplus yarn available for them, the mills are producing more cloth and dumping them in the market. The Government of Madras have drawn up a scheme to alleviate the condition of the weavers. Under this scheme, the Government will provide the existing weavers' co-operative societies in the various districts with share capital at the rate of Rs. 25 per weaver joining the scheme and the money will be recovered by the society from the weaver out of the wages earned by him in the society. The wages that will be paid to the weaver will be on subsistence level not exceeding six annas per knot. Yarns of 40s and below will be supplied to the weaver for being woven into handloom cloth and delivered to the society. The Government have also undertaken to guarantee the societies, working the relief scheme, against business losses. In this connexion, I must say that the people are not able to purchase the handloom cloth produced by these societies because there is no purchasing capacity for them.

“ As a co-operator, I have started in my area (Alamuru) in East Godavari district, a multi-purpose co-operative society. With a view to help the agricultural labourers during slack seasons, the society is sanctioning loans in kind, by way of supply of cloth purchased from the Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society. The society has also promulgated a scheme of thrift and savings campaign by the sale among agricultural labourers of thrift labels of several denominations ranging from one anna to one rupee. The collection agents of the bank daily visit the quarters of the labourers and make collections. The collections thus made are adjusted towards the repayment of loans. The following table published by the Reserve Bank of India gives an indication of the progress of the sale of cloth :—

		RS.
1940-41	...	575
1941-42	...	1,085
1942-43	...	13,063
1943-44	...	9,307
1944-45	...	4,328

In this way, poor Harijan labourers are helped. This is the first society of its kind started in 1938 and it is Mr. Prakasam that laid the foundation to that society. By thus linking up Handloom Weavers' Societies with Co-operative Credit Societies, the sale of handloom cloth produced by the weavers can be increased.

“ The co-operative movement is doing a lot of good to the people. The Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society, Madras, which has attained an international reputation for its working, is

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purchasing and distributing consumer goods to the public by organizing several depots. In this way, the movement can be spread throughout the whole of the State. Even during the War, when the Japanese were throwing bombs on the city and when the merchants fled away, the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society people remained in the City itself and supplied consumer goods to the public. Not only in the City but throughout the 52 towns of this State, co-operative societies are doing good work by supplying consumer goods to the public. Unfortunately, the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies organized for the purpose of growing food and supplying it to the consumers were smothered under the protecting wing of the State.

"Criticisms were also made that the Government are spending a lot of money for the construction of houses and for building townships. In this connection, I shall again quote the sloka :

‘నా సహజం దైవ్యంయలు లేకుండా’

The population of the State is increasing by leaps and bounds. How are the Government going to give them shelter? The Government are giving money to the building co-operative societies as loans and they fetch some interest to the Government. Government are not put to any loss on this account. Therefore I appeal to the legislators not to criticise the Government for giving loans to co-operative building societies for building townships and construction of houses."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The hon. Member's time is over."

SRI N. SATYANARAYANA :—" One minute, Sir."

"I wish to say a few words about the co-operative collective farming organized in my area. There are large lanka lands in my district, which were generally leased to the highest bidders by the Government. Generally the rich ryots secured the lands in auction and enjoyed them. They employed the landless labourers as coolies for agricultural operations in these lands. Owing to the annual silting of lands by high floods, these lands are very fertile and yield valuable crops such as cotton and chillies. With a view to save the labourers from the hands of the middlemen and to improve their economic position, the society secured these lands from the Government for joint cultivation and collective farming. This is what the Reserve Bank of India writes on the experiment :—

'A notable feature in the working of the Bank is the novel experiment it has undertaken in the direction of joint cultivation. The experiment was initiated in 1940 in the villages of Tatapudi, Jonnada and Mulastanam, lying within the area of the Bank's operations. The operation of this scheme has been rendered easy because of the availability of a vast acreage of "lanka" lands in the Godavari delta. These lanka lands which are Government lands were generally leased to the highest bidder at an open auction which was conducted by the Government and the richer

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classes alone were in a position to bid for them. The Bank has managed to secure these lands on lease from the Government for working out its experiment. It has taken up 500 acres in the three villages for a fixed rental of Rs. 10,000. The lands are divided into blocks of ten acres each and are allotted to Harijan families for joint cultivation. Each block is jointly cultivated by a group of ten families and their work is supervised by the Bank's 'propagandist'. The groups or brigades are divided into teams. Each group or brigade elects a Head who is directly responsible to the Rural Bank. The Head of each Group will allot work for the other members of the group. The Bank provides necessary financial assistance in the form of joint loans for the purpose of purchasing seed, cattle, implements, etc. It should be borne in mind that the families (consisting of landless labourers) coming under the scheme take up this type of farming only in the off-season when they have no employment. The scheme thus enables them to earn at least something during the off-season. The Bank undertakes the sale of the produce grown by the members and loans given for cultivation expenses are realized out of the sale-proceeds. However, only the surplus of the products that is left over, after reserving what is required to meet the members' needs, is marketed. The income from commercial crops such as chillies and tobacco alone is found sufficient to pay off the rental and other advances made by the bank.'

"We need not go to the Communists or to the Socialists for solving the economic problems of our country. We can solve them by organizing the State on a co-operative basis.

"I will show you, Sir, how the land problem can be solved. I do not want the lands to be taken from anybody; the landlord will not lose his land; he will be getting the usual reasonable rent. The lands will go into the hands of a co-operative society and agricultural operations will be carried on under the aegis of the society. The landlord will get his rent and the tenant can continue on his land and is assured of a continuous enjoyment of it and he can cultivate the lands for any length of time under the co-operative scheme. The land problem can be solved under the co-operative method only and not by any other means and I appeal to the Government to solve the problem. In this connection, I have to read from the report of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee and this is what the Committee recommended—

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'We take this occasion to recommend that in lanka lands in the Godavari and Krishna deltas the system of lease by auction should be abandoned and they should be leased to co-operative joint farming or tenant farming societies on fair rentals. This would give additional opportunity for these types of farming societies to be tried and would give an opportunity to a number of landless labourers to attach themselves to the land and improve their standard of living and we do not consider that the loss of some revenue to the State, which will be incidental, should stand in the way.'

The members of this Committee visited Alamuru and these remarks they have passed after seeing the lanka lands there and they have

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recommended that co-operative joint farming and tenant farming should be tried there and this is what the Committee said then—

'The Land Revenue Reforms Committee visited the Alamuru, Jonnada and Mulastanam Iankas on the 24th October 1950 where the field labourers' co-operative societies are cultivating the lands with the credit and marketing facilities provided by the Alamuru Co-operative Rural Bank, Ltd. The members of the Committee were much impressed by what they saw and the success of the operations is in no small measure due to the zeal and the enthusiasm and organizing skill of Sri N. Satyanarayana, the President of the Alamuru Co-operative Rural Bank.'

who is myself and they go on to say—

'Able assisted by the office-bearers of the Bank and the office-bearers of the field labourers' co-operative societies'.

"Sir, so many things are said by honourable Members about the working of the scheme of Prohibition. But let me tell you how it has worked and I will give you one instance. The Minister for Revenue at the time, the Hon. Sri Kala Venkata Rao visited the area after Prohibition was introduced. Rupees 26,000 was collected from ex-addicts which represented their savings on account of the introduction of Prohibition and it is there in my bank along with the Rs. 4 lakhs that I have in my bank. Do you know Sir, the poor Harijans out of their own savings have done wonderful things: In Thatapudi, a Ramamandiram was constructed at a cost of Rs. 2,000, and it is a tiled building. Labour was contributed free and the housing materials were purchased out of their savings. The Adi-Andhras and Adi-Dravidas of Mulastanam constructed two tiled Ramamandirams at a cost of Rs. 4,000. The Adi-Dravidas of Angara village constructed a Ramamandiram at a cost of Rs. 5,000. After their daily work is over, they assemble in these Mandirs and settle their personal accounts and their communal disputes. On festive occasions they conduct bhajans and sankeertans in these Mandirs. It is a delight to see their folk-dances and their ballad singing in these Mandirs. These have not only become a rendezvous for these people to gather but also centres of their recreation and adult education. I appeal to Honourable Members to recognise that Prohibition has done immense good and miraculous effects have been achieved in my area. If only Prohibition is worked properly, there is wonderful scope for poor people being benefited, I cannot say the same thing about the rich, for despite Prohibition, they may drink and drink and may be lost. But I am sorry to say one thing. One learned professor was saying that money for the payment of better salaries to teachers might be got by abolishing Prohibition. Oh, what a fall my countrymen! The teachers require to be paid money by the abolition of Prohibition; they want to be paid from the tainted money! From time immemorial, it is an accepted principle of religion that *acharyas* should be paid out of free love and from money earned by fair means.

‘అచార్యుల ప్రియంభ సహస్రత్ర్య పజాతంకుచ్ఛి॥’

Let them not, I appeal to them, want this blood money. Our teachers can be paid and they can be found work; they can be given rural reconstruction and Firka Development work. In that connexion, I understand that one crore of rupees has been spent

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during the last five years and it is not at all an achievement of which one can be proud. Some one suggested that it should be given to the Rotary Club. That is not the proper way; the work should be more expeditiously undertaken and the condition of the people should be bettered and their health and standard of living should be improved. We should show better results by means of the working of the community projects."

* SRI D. VENKATA RAO :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will take some time to recover from the effects of a storm and necessarily I will talk quietly and I request you will give me time for a quiet speech.

" While rising to support the Budget proposals *in toto*, I wish to give expression to a few of my own observations. I have gone studiously through the Budget proposals and the introductory speeches made by the Hon. the Finance Minister and the Hon. the Chief Minister before the respective Houses of the Legislature. As one conversant with Public Finance, I have evinced particular interest in it as it has been the subject of my lectures. I believe, I have some of my students, old students but young men, in the Legislature, who must now be grappling with the proposals; of course, they must be in the Lower House, not in this House of Elders, where I sit with my compeers. To me the proposals seem to be the outcome of careful thinking and sincere concern for the welfare of the people and close consideration of all the problems and conditions obtaining in the country to-day, of limitations as well as possibilities. The new tax proposals are also moderate and reasonable and I would like the House to accept them *in toto*. We are aware that these Budget proposals had been preceded by certain acts of benevolence by this Government which have brought to the millions of our people peace, relief and contentment and which have inspired in their minds confidence in the Government; and everybody would wish that this Government should remain stable and strong. I must say that the Budget proposals do bear the impress of the unquestioned integrity of approach and the political acumen of the men that were in charge of the drafting of the proposals—I mean our Chief Minister, the Finance Minister and the good team of men that helped them. Opinion may differ on the subject of the Budget proposals, but I wish to submit that the proposals presented to the House are the best under the circumstances and I should commend them for the wholehearted approval of the House.

" Adverting to the Debate, Sir, I find, the Budget debate to be a sort of an omnibus by which anybody can travel anywhere, any way, and I find myself to be a fellow-passenger in the bus. I shall at the outset refer to a significant remark made the other day by my hon. Sister, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi paying a compliment to the speech in Tamil delivered by my hon. Friend Sri Annamalai Pillai. She admired the lucidity, straightness and the forcefulness of the speech delivered in the mother-tongue of the speaker and

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she wished she could do the same herself. I wholeheartedly join her in this remark and I admire the frankness with which she gave expression to the reaction that was so convincingly forced upon her after hearing the speech made in a mother tongue. In my case, however, I feel that I can perfectly happily speak in my own mother tongue, mellifluous Telugu; I can do it with ease, but I refrain from doing it for fear that many of my friends, a great majority of them, would not be able to follow me. I must confess I could not follow the speech of Sri Annamalai Pillai, though I could see, however, that he was making a forceful and impressive speech; and I am sure that his feeling would be the same with reference to the speech I may deliver in Telugu which he may not be able to understand. It is this very significant remark of Dr. Mrs. Reddi regarding language that set me pondering over the fundamental problem of language in a composite province. The linguistic phenomenon presents difficulties which I have been observing day in and day out both at the Party meetings and in the open sessions of this House. It is a vital and a fundamental problem. Democracy is not workable unless all transactions of the Legislature and of the whole administrative machinery are conducted on the basis of the language of the people. The sort of democracy with which we toyed under the aegis of the British Raj was an apology for democracy and the chosen few that brandished the language suited that Government though the people were not well served. But now it is not so. Ours is a true democracy to-day and our first elections under the new Constitution on the basis of adult franchise has returned to the Legislature a majority of representatives who do not understand English and do not follow it with reasonable facility. To be sure, the next elections will bring more men of this type into the Legislature and the so-called common language which had been thrust on us, English, in which we have expressed ourselves, must fast die out and there will be no use for it. Taking this State, it is a composite State artificially constituted by accidents of history and the language areas are fairly big and viable. As I have told the House, democracy is unworkable without the basis of a common language and if democracy is to function, the formation of States on a linguistic basis is essential and inevitable. This leads me to the question of the Andhra State. I shall not make it a controversial topic. Well, Sir, I need not labour hard to prove the desirability or feasibility of the Andhra State. I felt surprised to find that yet there are some men who still doubt the feasibility of the Andhra State. I shall not waste my time trying to clear their doubts. All parties, it is sufficient for me to say, are agreed upon this question and the matter has been practically decided and it is only over a small hitch at the last moment at the discussions of the Cabinet Sub-Committee two years ago that the matter fell through. We must even now square up our differences and come to an agreement. The longer the delay, the greater is the danger and the greater the bitterness. The Congress in the Andhra be it noted, has broken over this question and all our present troubles of instability are due to that. The Andhras have nursed a long-standing grievance that their interests

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have suffered under a Government of the composite State in which other interests at all times had precedence over the interests of the Telugu districts and the deep feeling of long-standing neglect has sored their hearts and their minds. Great leaders and very good men, like Rajaji or Sri Prakasam, might head the State but even with the best of their intentions they have not been able to help the Andhra area, because whatever they may like to do, they failed to do the full measure of service. The trouble comes from the atmosphere that suffused the set up of the whole machinery of administration. Nothing but a division can right the wrong. We, Andhras, Tamils and others here in Madras, are all good brothers in a joint family; we do not hate each other. Sir, we love each other, we wish well of each other. But we have reared our own individual families and we have our own responsibilities and the time has come when we have got to part. Time has become ripe for our partition and partition must come before bitterness worsens. Every partition involves some difficulty. But partition must come nevertheless and it should never affect our brotherly relations.

5-45.
p.m.

“ In this connexion, I shall give this House one or two very significant instances of criminal neglect of Andhra interests which, I am sure, the whole House will be interested to know and will appreciate. In my home town of Rajahmundry there are two colleges, in both of which I was a student. There is one Arts College and there is one Training College. The Arts College is one century old and next year in 1953 they are going to celebrate the centenary of that great institution. But do you know, Sir, where that institution is located? It is housed in a little building built in the days of the East India Company, a miserable little house meant originally for a normal school. It is only two years ago that the construction of a new building to house this college was taken up and it is nearing completion and probably the college will have the pleasure of celebrating its centenary under the roof of a new building that comes one century after the inception of the institution. A lot of agitation had been carried on for its betterment, but who cared to listen to it? It was a cry in the wilderness. Now, I come to the Government Training College to which I have earlier referred. This college is half a century old. It is also housed in a building which is very inadequate for its purpose. Believe me, Sir, when I say that throughout its existence under the University of Madras, it was never recognized. During that period students received their instruction in this college but they had to appear for the examination as private students, as the college had no recognition, and get their degrees. Then came the Andhra University. It also took objection to this college being located in a most inadequate building with a miserable playground, and it refused to recognize it for three years. At that time, however, this was the only Training College in the Andhra area and there was no alternative, and ultimately the University was obliged to give recognition to this college. For nearly thirty years, Principal after Principal—white Principals, Tamil Principals and Telugu Principals—consistently

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and repeatedly complained about the inadequate accommodation provided for this college. Who would listen to it? The concerned department kept amazingly silent over the matter and the Training College still remains in the miserable premises. Sir, it requires extensive modern buildings and vast grounds for its growing scope and strength. I appeal to the Hon. Minister for Education to take note of this and see that new buildings and sufficient accommodation are provided for this college without further delay.

“ Now, I want to make a passing reference to Ramapadasagar, that magnificent scheme of Sri S. V. Ramamurthi. It is a great scheme which would solve many problems of this State. But, what happened to it? Over Rs. 20 lakhs were spent over preparing the plans and estimates of this scheme. Actually machinery was set up to implement it, but suddenly something happened and the whole thing has been shelved and thrown into cold storage. I remember one pleasant evening when Sri Ramamurthi, father of the project, cheerfully and very proudly announced at a public meeting in Rajahmundry that very soon in about a month or so from thence, the foundation stone for Ramapadasagar was going to be laid by our Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I was so happy to hear that. One month passed and two months passed, and several months passed but nothing happened and then came the sad news that the whole thing fell through and that it would not be taken up for years to come. That is the fate of the Ramapadasagar Scheme. Sir, may it be noted, the ship of the Congress in Andhra foundered on the rock of Ramapadasagar and broke into two; and if there is division in the Congress to-day, it is because of this policy.

“ Now, I come to roads. The tourists and pilgrims that tour South India contrast the beautiful and well-tarred roads in Tamilnad with miserable highways and by-ways of the Telugu area. Who is responsible for it? Andhra districts are neglected. Andhra causes are thrown to the background. Our voice is a voice in the wilderness. That is the reason why we want a Province. We do not complain against anybody. I shall not accuse any leader. It is a conspiracy of circumstances germane to a composite State. Therefore, I appeal to this House to lend its full weight to the early formation of an Andhra Province.

“ Sir, by the way, I shall recall a remark made the other day by the Hon. Minister for Finance when replying to the Confidence Motion in the other House. He referred to the Andhra Province and said ‘ Andhra leaders assembled in Madras suddenly claimed the City for the proposed Andhra State.’ I wonder whether the Hon. Sri Subramaniam was born when the movement for a separate Andhra State was started more than forty years ago. It is not all of a sudden that Andhras jumped upon Madras. We have been claiming it for the last 40 years. The Hon. Sri Subramaniam continued ‘ In spite of geographical facts, linguistic facts and other

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things, still there are Andhras who want to include the City of Madras in the Andhra State.' What a remark! If only it had been a remark of somebody else, I would not have minded it. That was an inadvertent remark that has slipped from the mouth of a responsible Minister. Sir, I know something of geography myself and a little more of history, as a Professor of History myself. I shall give you a fact of history which will help people to know the truth so as not to dismiss this question of the claim of the Andhras so cheaply. May it be known that the site of the City of Madras was originally the gift to the East India Company by a Telugu chieftain of the East Coast, a feudatory under the Telugu kings of Chandragiri,—my namesake, Damerla Venkata Rao Naik. In the initial stages, the City was raised by the sweat and toil of Andhra labour and its prosperity was built up by the industry and enterprise of Andhra artisans and merchants. By and by as time went on, others did come into the City and they contributed their share to the development of this City. I should not deny and I shall not deny the credit to them. Tamilians, Malayalees and Kannadigas came and they all contributed towards the development of this City. It is also a fact of history, Sir, that this City cannot be claimed by any one group. It shall belong to all. We should not worry ourselves about the City now. It will find its own solution. We want an Andhra Province and that must be formed at the earliest opportunity. Very soon the President of India is likely to consult the Legislature of Madras regarding its opinion about this matter. Before we are consulted, it will be graceful that we pass a resolution which this House had repeatedly passed in the past—wholeheartedly consenting to the immediate formation of the Andhra Province.

“ One word about Education. When I speak about education, naturally I must refer to teachers. I do not approach anybody on their behalf with a begging bowl and ask for mercy. The teachers may to-day be humble and poor, but they are the inheritors of the traditions of the rishis of the ashrams of this country. They commanded immense respect and still command respect. If you want to be fair to teachers, give them, what they deserve, not by way of doles of mercy but by way of justifying yourself in the name of the children of the land whom we want to be nurtured into heroes of the country. You cannot expect heroes to be reared by a brood of teachers, discontented, emaciated, half-starved and sunken. The teacher must be a proud man. He must also be a very contented man; and he must be a very cheerful man. It is such teachers that can develop this nation into a heroic nation. In the interests of our own people and in the interests of the future of our country, we have got to see that we raise the status of the poor teachers. I am ashamed to call them ‘ poor teachers ’. They are proud men who should have what they deserve.

“ Now, Sir, I come to educational concessions which have been granted to teachers and non-gazetted officers. The Government, probably by oversight, have not extended the same concession to

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Lecturers and Assistant Lecturers in aided colleges who are drawing a salary of less than Rs. 300. There is a call from them. Please take them also into your purview.

“Sir, teachers do not grow old at 55. I am a retired man. I am an example of the teacher. After retirement, I have come into politics. My Government that retired me fixed the age of superannuation at 55 but teachers do not grow old at 55 by virtue of the character of work that they do. I believe I may not grow old for a long time to come. It is but fair that the superannuation age of teachers should be raised to 60 as in the case of the Central Services.

“There are also poor pundits and poor Hindi teachers who are neglected by everybody.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“The hon. Member's time is up.”

SRI D. VENKATA RAO :—“I shall finish in a minute.

“These pundits and Hindi teachers deserve much better treatment from the hands of the Government. These very learned men are not paid as those men of to-day who come with a little bit of English knowledge, though they are entrusted with education in the higher classes of colleges. Sir, if the Government of Madras or the Government of India mean business and want that Hindi should be made the *lingua franca* of the country, Hindi teachers must be helped to live and live happily. They are paid miserably. You don't give them enough work, enough periods of work in the schools and colleges. Hindi is a neglected subject. Give them ample work and please pay them fully. With these words, I appeal to the House to wholeheartedly approve of the Budget.”

JANAB SYED MAHABOOB :—“అధ్యక్షా, ఇప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వము తయారు చేసినటువంటి బడ్జెటును చూచినట్లయితే, ఇదివరకు జాతీయోద్యమములో భారతదేశము వ్యవసాయకదేశమని రైతులకు శున్నలభారము తగ్గిస్తామని, రైతులకు విముక్తి కలుగజేస్తామని, దున్నేవానికే భూమినిస్తామని మహా గొప్పగా కాంగ్రెసు వేధికలపై ఉపన్యాసాలు ఇచ్చినటువంటి నాయకులైనా ఈ నాడు ఈ బడ్జెటును తయారు చేసినటువంటివారు అనే అనుమానము కలుగుచున్నది. ఈ బడ్జెటు చూచినతరువాత నాకు తట్టిన మొట్టమొదట అధిపాయము వివరగా ఈ ప్రభుత్వము మధ్య తరగతి రైతులను వీడరైతులుగాను, వీడ రైతులను వ్యవసాయ కూలీలుగాను, వ్యవసాయ కూలీలను భిక్షగాళ్ళగాను తయారు చేస్తున్నట్లు నాకు తోచినది కనుక ఈ బడ్జెటును నేను వ్యతిరేకిస్తున్నాను. మొట్టమొదట దున్నేవానికే భూమినిస్తామని, రైతులకు శున్నలభారము తగ్గిస్తామని మహా ఉపన్యాసాలు ఇచ్చినటువంటి పెద్దలేనా ఈ లాంటి బడ్జెటు ప్రవేశిస్తే తయారుచేసింది అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఈ విధంగా బడ్జెటు తయారు చేసినందుకు వారు ముఖ్యంగా కారణమేమి చెప్పుతున్నారంటే బడ్జెటులో లోటు వచ్చింది కనుక విలాగైనా సరే ఈ బడ్జెటును పూర్తి చేయవలసియంటుంది కాబట్టి ఈ శున్నలు వేశాము అని చెప్పుతున్నారు. కాని ఈ శున్నలు విధింపబడునటువంటి వీడ రైతులయొక్క పరిస్థితులు పల్లె ప్రాంతాలలో చూచినట్లైతే వారు ఎని కట్టనట్టెలకు గురి అయినారో వారి కుటుంబాలు ఎంత కష్టములో జీవితము గడుపుచున్నవో

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[Janab Syed Mahaboob]

అర్హతనుంది. ఒకటోకి ఈ పెద్ద నాయకులు వారి రాజకీయాధికారములో ఈ విషయాన్ని మరచిపోయి ఉంటారని అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నాను. ఈ బడ్జెటునే గనుక యథావిధంగా అమలులో పెట్టినట్లైతే గ్రామ జీవితము తారుమారు అయిపోయి బీదరైతులకు అధిక వాసన సంకల్పము లిగించినట్లు అవుతుంది కాని రైతుకు ఏ మాత్రము దీనివల్ల విముక్తిగాని శ్రేయస్సుగాని చేకూరదని నా అభిప్రాయము.

“తరువాత 50 రూపాయలు శిస్తు చెల్లించేటటువంటి రైతులకు సరీచార్జీలని 6 p.m. అధిక పన్నులభారము వేస్తున్నారంటే ఇది ఎంత భూయిష్టమైన విధానమో ప్రభుత్వము ఒక పర్యాయం ఆలోచించుకొనవలసియున్నది. డెల్టా ప్రాంతాలలో 4 ఎకర రైతుకుకూడా ఈ పన్ను చెల్లించవలసియ్యుంటుంది. ఈ రైతులయొక్క ఆదాయము చూచినట్లైతే ఇదివరకు Land Revenue Committee యొక్క రెక్కల ప్రకారము ఒక 50 రూపాయలు శిస్తు చెల్లించేటటువంటి రైతులకు సగటు నికరపు ఆదాయము 450 రూపాయలు మాత్రమేనని తెలుచబడినది. ఇంకా వారి భర్తను గురించి విచారించినట్లయితే Rao's Committee Report ప్రకారము ప్రతి కుటుంబానికి 18 వందల రూపాయలు కావలసియుంటుంది. ఈ విధంగా రైతులు తమ జీవితాలను గడవవలసియుంటున్నప్పుడు బీద రైతులైన ఈలాంటి అన్యాయపు పన్నులు చేయడం చాలా కోపనీయం గావుంది. కనుక ఈ పన్నుల విషయములో ఒక విచారణ కమిటీవేసి ప్రజాభిమతాన్ని వారి అభిప్రాయాన్ని దూరంగాని ఆ ప్రకారము చేయవలసిందిగా ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను. కొందరు సభ్యులు 50 రూపాయల శిస్తు చెల్లించేటటువంటి రైతులవద్దనుండి కాక, వంద రూపాయలకు పైన శిస్తు చెల్లించేటటువంటి రైతులవద్దనుండి ఈ సరీచార్జీలు వసూలు చేయవలసని సూచించారు. కాని ఈ సూచనకూడా సరియైనటువంటిది కాదని నా అభిప్రాయము. ఎందువల్లనంటే వంద రూపాయలు శిస్తు చెల్లించేటటువంటి రైతులయొక్క సగటు నికరపు ఆదాయము 850 రూపాయలు మాత్రమే ఉంటుంది. అలాంటిపుడు అటువంటి రైతుకుకూడ ఈ పన్నులు వేయటం న్యాయమైన విధానముకాదని నా అభిప్రాయము. కనుక బడ్జెటులోటు పూర్తికావాలంటే, ఈ రైతులపై పన్నులభారము ప్రయాణీకులపైన అధిక చార్జీలు విధించడం సరియైన విధానము కాదు. బడ్జెటు లోటును పూర్తిచేసుకొనడానికి వేరే మార్గాలు వున్నాయి. ఇదివరకు 1947 వ సంవత్సరము పార్లమెంటుల సలహా సంఘము బన్ను యజమానుల ఆదాయాన్ని బట్టి వారి జీతాలండవలసని చెప్పినప్పుడు ఈ బన్ను యజమానుల ఆదాయము 4, 5 వేలు ఉంటుందని, ఆ విధంగా 4 వేల ఆదాయముతో మన రాష్ట్రంలో 2 కోట్లు బన్ను యజమానులకు దక్కతుందని ఆ కమిటీ రిపోర్టు ఇచ్చినది. కాని ఈ మోటారు పరిశ్రమలో డ్రైవర్లు, కండక్టర్లు, క్లీనర్లు చదాచు 50 వేలమంది ఉన్నారు. ఈ 50 వేలమంది గురించి యజమానులనుండి వారికి న్యాయమైన జీతములు ముట్టుచున్నవా వారి స్థిగతులేమని వారిని గురించి ప్రభుత్వము విమైనా చర్య తీసుకొన్న చా అంటే విమిలేదు. ఒక డ్రైవరు విషయము తీసుకొందే. అతడు ప్రాద్దన 5 గంటలకు స్థిరంగా చేతపట్టునంటే రాత్రి 8 గంటలవరకు సర్వీస్ చేయవలసియుంటుంది. కాని అతని జీతము చూస్తాను చాలా తక్కువ. ఈ బన్ను యజమానులు తక్కువ జీతాలతో ఎక్కువ పని కావాలంటారు. ఈ యజమానులకు అధిక లాభాలు వచ్చినాకూడా కార్మికులను ఇటువంటి కష్టాలతో వీడిస్తూయుంటారు. Transport workers ఈ విధంగా తమ జీవితాన్ని గడపలేక 1948 వ సంవత్సరములో మాత్రము కొన్ని సత్కైలు జరిపారు. అప్పుడు ఒక విచారణ కమిటీవేసి Motor Transport workers కు కొన్ని సదుపాయాలు చేయవలసిందిగా కోరారు. కాని వారికి విమి సదుపాయాలు కలుగ జేయలేదు.

[Janab Syed MahabooB]

[10th July 1952]

"Motor Vehicles Act లో ఈ కార్షకులు 9 గంటలు వని చేయాలని ఉన్నప్పటికీ యజమానులు అధిక లాభాలు కొరకు కార్షకులచేత ఎక్కువ పనిచేయిస్తూనే ఉంటారు. ఈ విధముగా అధిక లాభా పొందుతున్నటువంటి బన్ను యజమానులపైన పన్నులు ఎందుకు విధించకూడదని ప్రభుత్వాని అడుగుతున్నాను. అది విధించి ప్రయాణికులపైన, గ్రామ ప్రజలపైన, వీడ రైతాంగంపైన అధిక పన్నులు, బన్ను చార్జీలువేయడం ఎంత విపరీతంగా ఉంటుందో ప్రభుత్వము ఆలోచించుకోవలసియన్నది. కనుక 2 కోట్లు ఆదాయాన్ని పొందేటటువంటి బన్ను యజమానులపైన ఈలాంటి పన్నులు విధించవలెనని కోరుతున్నాను. ఏ కార్షకులైతే కష్టపడి ఈ యజమానులకు 2 కోట్లు ఆదాయాన్ని సాధించిస్తున్నారో అటువంటి కార్షకులశ్రేయస్సును యజమానులు గమనించలేకుండా ఉన్నారంటే ప్రభుత్వము ఈ విషయంలో విమిచర్య తీసుకోకుండా ఉండడం చాలా శోచనీయంగా ఉంది. ఇక మాటారు ట్రాన్సుపోర్టు కార్షకులపట్ల పోలీసుల వైఖరి చూచినట్లైతే, ఈ పోలీసువాళ్ళ వారిని అనేక విధాలుగా బాధ పెడుతూ ఉంటారు. ఒక బన్నుగాని లేక లారీగాని పోలీసు వాళ్ళకు లంచము ఇవ్వకపోయినట్లైతే ఆ పోలీసులు ఈ బన్ను కార్షకులను ఎప్పుడు బాధిస్తుంటారు. మాటారు ట్రాన్సుపోర్టు కార్షకుల కుస్థితులు ఈ విధంగా ఉంటున్నప్పుడు దీనిని గురించి ప్రభుత్వము ప్రత్యేక శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొని వారికి తగిన రక్షణ ఇవ్వవలసిన అవసరమున్నదని చెప్పుచున్నాను. ఇదివరకు ఈ విషయములో నియమించిన విచారణ కమిటీ రోజున 120 షిఫ్ట్లకంటే ఎక్కువ సర్వీస్ పొకూడదని చెప్పికప్పటికీ కూడ దీనిని గమనించడంలేదు. రెండవది ఏ కార్షకులైన ఒక సంవత్సరము సర్వీసు అయిన తరువాత అటువంటి workers ను permanent ఉద్యోగులుగా చేయవలెనని సూచించింది. దానినికూడా ఈ బన్ను యజమానులు పాటించడం లేదు. అట్లు చేయుటకు బదులు ఉద్యోగాలు తగ్గించి చాలామంది workers ను నిరుద్యోగులవారు చేసుకుంటారు. ఈ విధంగా బన్ను యజమానుల అధిక లాభాలతో మలమలగుతూయుండేటప్పుడు వీడ ప్రయాణికులపైన చార్జీలు ఎక్కువవేసి బడ్డెటును సవరించుటకు బదులు ఈ యజమానులపైన ఎందుకు పన్నులు వేయకూడదో ఆలోచించుకొన్నది ప్రభుత్వానికి ఇంకాక పర్యాయము ఈ విషయాన్ని జ్ఞప్తికి తెస్తున్నాను.

"ఇప్పుడు రైతులుపైన సరచార్జీలు వేతారు. కాని ఇదివరకే రైతులు పన్నుల భారముగా బాధపడుతూ, ఈ పన్నుల భారాన్ని తగ్గించండి అని బ్రతిమాలుకొంటూ యుంటే, ప్రభుత్వము ఇప్పుడు వారిపైన సరచార్జీలు వేయడము ఎంత విపరీతంగా, భరింపరానిదిగా యుంటుందో ఆలోచించుకోవచ్చు. మహాత్మా గాంధీజీ ఈ రైతుల నాయకత్వము వహించి, ఎటువంటి రైతు పోరాటాలను నడిపించినాడో ఆ విషయాల్ని మన చరిత్రలో ఉన్నవి. తరువాత మలబారులో ఒకానొకప్పుడు ముస్లిము మాపిల్లా రైతులు ఏ విధంగా బ్రిటిష్ సాంరాజ్యానికి తిరుగుబడి వారి తిరుగుబాటును సాగించారో అది చరిత్రలో స్పష్ట అక్షరాలతో లిఖింపబడినది. దేశ స్వాతంత్ర్యమునకై ఇంతటి ధైర్యసాహసాలతో పోరాడిన ఈ మాపిల్లా రైతులకు ఈనాడు పన్నులు ఎక్కువై అన్యాయము కలుగుతూయుంటే, అవకాశవాదులైనట్టి ముస్లిం లీగ్ ఈ బడ్డెట్ ను ఆమోదించారు అంటే, ఆ మాపిల్లా రైతులకు ఎంత అన్యాయము చేసినవారితో అది గ్రహించవచ్చు. ఎక్కడా లేనటువంటి ముస్లిం లీగ్ ఈనాడు మలబారులో ఉన్నది. ఈ ముస్లిం లీగ్ బెంగాలులో లేదు, బీహారులో లేదు, ఉత్తర్ ప్రదేశ్ లో లేదు, బొంబాయిలో లేదు, కాని మలబారులో ఉన్నది. ఆ ఉన్నటువంటి ముస్లిం లీగ్ కూడా ఒక చిన్న సెక్షను మాత్రమే. ఎన్నికలప్పుడు, మతము పేరట, కులము పేరట,

10th July 1952] [Janab Syed Mahaboob]

దేవుని పేరట ప్రమాణాలుచేసి రైతులవద్దనుండి వోట్లు పొంది ఇక్కడకు వచ్చినటువంటి ముస్లిం లీగు ఈనాడు ఆ వోట్లు ఇచ్చినటువంటి మలబారు మాజిలా కిసాన్లపైన అధిక షన్సులు వేయగా, ఈ ముస్లిం లీగు support చేసింది అంటే, నిజంగా ఈ ముస్లిం లీగు మలబారు రైతుల ఆర్థిక జీవితాన్ని క్రుంగదీసి వారికి ఎంతో ద్రోహంచేసిందనే చెప్పవలసియున్నది.

“తరువాత అభివృద్ధి షన్సు (betterment tax) ను గురించి ఆలోచించినట్లైతే, ఎక్కడైతే వ్యవసాయ పరిస్థితులను అభివృద్ధిపరచవలసియుంటుందో, ఎక్కడైతే రైతు వాడపడుతూ ఉంటాడో ఎక్కడైతే నీటిపారుదల ఉండదో, అలాంటి బీద ప్రదేశాలలో, కరువు ప్రణాళికలు పెట్టవలసి వారికి సహాయము చేయవలసియుంటుంది. ఇట్లు సహాయ సౌకర్యాలు కలుకజేయడం ప్రభుత్వముయొక్క వాద్యత. అసలు ఒక కరువు ప్రణాళిక క్రింద, ఒక ప్రాజెక్టు క్రింద భూమిని సాగుకు తీసుకొనింటే, ఆ రైతు మొట్ట పల్లాన్ని సరిచేసుకొని దానిని సాగులోకి తీసుకురావాలంటే ఎంతో డబ్బు ఖర్చు చేయవలసియుంటుంది. ఇంత కష్టపడి ఆ భూమిని అభివృద్ధికి తీసుకువచ్చిన తరువాత, ఈయొక్క అభివృద్ధి షన్సులను వేస్తే అది రైతుకు ఎంతో కష్టంగాను, నిరుత్సాహంగాను ఉంటుంది. అది విమూలము రైతుకు సహకారిగా ఉండదు. అలాంటిప్పుడు ఈ శిస్తుల విధానము, సర్ చార్జీల విధానము విమూలము సరియైనదిగాదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. అయితే, ఈ బడ్జెటును పూర్తిచేయుటకు వివిధ సూచన ఇస్తున్నారని అడుగవచ్చును. దీనికి సలహాలు ఇస్తున్నాను. మొదటిది, అధిక లాభాలు పొందుతూ యుండినటువంటి బస్సు యజమానులపైన కొన్ని షన్సు విధించి వారిద్వారా కొంత భాగాన్ని వసూలు చేయవచ్చు. రెండవది, ప్రభుత్వము జమీందార్లకు నష్టపరిహారంగా లోటానలోట్ల రూపాయలు ఖర్చు చేస్తున్నది. ఇంత మొత్తాన్ని ఇవ్వకుండా, విదోక్షులంగా ఇచ్చి ఉంటే బడ్జెటు లోటు చాలావరకు తగ్గిపోయి ఉండేది. ప్రభుత్వము నిజంగా దేశాభివృద్ధికి, దేశ పురోభివృద్ధికి డబ్బు కావాలి అన్నట్లయితే, ఒక ordinance వేసి, ఫలాన తేదీలోగా ఉన్నటువంటి కరెన్సీ నెల్లనేరను అని ఉత్తర్య గనుక చేసినట్లయితే, ఈ సిట్లో కూడుకొనిన కరెన్సీ అంతా ఈ సెక్రటేరియట్కు ఎట్లు వస్తుంటో తెలుస్తుంది. ఈ డబ్బంతా, పెద్ద పెద్ద capitalists వద్ద, land-holders వద్ద, పెద్ద యజమానులవద్ద, వ్యాపారస్తులవద్ద ఉన్నది గనుక వారినుండినే రావలెనుగాని, రైతులవద్దనుండి ఎట్లు రాగలదనే విషయాన్ని ప్రభుత్వము గుర్తించ వలసియున్నది. కనుక ఈ బీద రైతులమీద అధిక షన్సులవేస్తే విధానాన్ని ఆవలం బించకూడదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“తరువాత ప్రస్తుతము ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రములో 18 లక్షల ముస్లిములున్నారు. కాని దేశము partition అయిన తరువాత, అక్కడి ముస్లిములకు విద్యాలయాలు గాని, ముస్లిం అభ్యుదయముగాని ప్రభుత్వము తలపెట్టడములేదు. ఒక చోట 20 సంవత్సరాలుగా ఉంటున్నటువంటి గవర్న మెంటు ట్రైనింగు స్కూలును ఈ విధాని తీసివేశారు. తరువాత డిప్టీ క్లర్క్ బోర్డు స్కూళ్లలోగాని, పంచాయతీ బోర్డు స్కూళ్లలోగాని, మునిసిపల్ స్కూళ్లలోగాని, ఎక్కడా ఒక ముస్లిం సెక్షన్ పెట్ట లేదు. చాలా చోట్ల టీచర్లు దొరకడం లేదంటున్నారు. ఈ విషయమై డిప్టీ క్లర్క్ బోర్డుల ద్వారాను మునిసిపాలిటీల ద్వారాను మనవిచేశాము. టీచర్లు కావాలంటే ట్రైనింగు స్కూళ్లు చాలా అవసరము. కనుక అక్కడ ఆ ట్రైనింగు స్కూలు ఉంచి, ఇక్కడ ఆంధ్ర మధ్య భాగములో అనగా గుంటూరులో గవర్న మెంటు, ట్రైనింగు కాలేజీలో ఒక ముస్లిం సెక్షను పెట్టినట్లైతే, టీచర్లు తయారవుతారు.

[Janab Syed Mahaboob] [10th July 1952]

ఆ విధంగా వివిధ ప్రాంతాలలోని ముస్లింలకు సహాయము చేసినట్లువుతుంది. కనుక ఇప్పుడు మూసినేయబడిన ట్రైనింగు స్కూలును మరల విర్వాటు చేయవలసిందని, రెండవది, ఈ బడ్జెటు విధానాన్ని పరిశీలించడానికి ఒక సలహా సంఘాన్ని విర్వాటు చేస్తూ దానిలో అన్ని పార్టీలకు సమానావకాశమిచ్చి, ప్రజల అభిమతాన్ని తెలుసుకొని, ఆ విధంగా ఈ పన్నుల విధానాన్ని సవరించవలెనని కోరుతున్నాను.

“చరువాత decontrol విషయములో కొంత మనవి చేస్తున్నాను ఈ కంట్రోల్స్ తీసినేయడంలో, దేశద్రోహులు, దేశాభిమానం లేనివారు, కమ్యూనిస్టులు ఇటువంటివారే ఈ కంట్రోల్స్ కావాలంటున్నారనే ఒక pose ను పెట్ట ప్రభుత్వము ప్రచారాన్ని తీసుకొనివస్తున్నది. నిజంగా, అహార పదార్థాలు యదేచ్ఛగా ప్రజలకు దొరికితే, ఎవరుకూడా అహార పదార్థాలకు కంట్రోల్స్ ఉండవలెనని కోరరు. అహార పదార్థాలు సరిగా ప్రజలకు అందువాటులో లేకుండా, ధరలు తారుమారయ్యే అవకాశముంటేనే కంట్రోల్స్ కావాలంటారు. ఇప్పుడు ఎవరైనా కంట్రోల్స్ ను కావాలంటే ధరలు పెరిగిపోయ్యే అవకాశముంటేనే ధరలను కంట్రోలు చేయవలసిన అవసరమున్నదని చెప్పుతారు. కనుక, ఇప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వము కంట్రోల్స్ తీసినేసిందిగాని ధరలను అరికట్టుగలదా అని అడిగినట్లైతే, విషయ ప్రభుత్వము సమాధానము చెప్పవచ్చు. సెంట్రల్ గవర్నమెంటు అసరముమీద ఎక్కడైనా సరే వ్యక్తులు ధరలు పెంచినట్లయితే వారిపైకు స్వాధీనపరచుకొంటాము అని అన్నారు గనుక ధరలు పెరుగుటకు అవకాశములేదని చెప్పవచ్చు. కాని ఇంతవరకు దొంగ మార్కెటులో అమ్మినటువంటివారికి ఉరి శిక్ష విధిస్తామని చెప్పినటువంటి పండిట్ నైఋతా వాక్యాలు విన్నామాయో ఇప్పుడుకూడా అదే ప్రకారము వీరి వాక్యాలు కాబోతాయని భయపడవలసియున్నదని చెప్పుచున్నాను కనుక అహార పదార్థాలయొక్క ధరలను అరికట్టుటకు ఈలాంటి పద్ధతి సహకరించదని చెప్పచూ ఈ బడ్జెటును వ్యతిరేకిస్తూ విరమిస్తున్నాను.”

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P.M.

* SRI MADDI SUDARSANAM :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I feel it is my first and foremost duty to congratulate the Chief Minister of our Government for the very bold and masterly step he has taken in the matter of decontrolling the prices of food-grains in this State. The producers and the consumers as well as the merchants, all heaved a sigh of relief, and there appears to be a general satisfaction all over the State. It is really gratifying to note that the vexatious controls which have been largely responsible for bringing the Government into disrepute in the past, are now being gradually removed. The very fact that the prices of food-grains are now getting stabilised at reasonable levels, may be taken as a good augury for the success of the policy of decontrol. With large buffer stocks in reserve to meet any emergency, and with powers vested in officials to snatch any hoarded stocks, I feel confident that the policy of decontrol pursued by our Government is bound to succeed, and thus pave the way for all the other States in our country to follow the same policy. I also feel sure that the mercantile community will co-operate with the Government by not allowing their speculative propensities to play any part, and thus make the policy of decontrol a great success. The Chief Minister has taken upon himself the arduous task of forming the Government under very difficult circumstances in our State. Ever since

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he assumed office, he has been pursuing a policy which has contributed in no small measure towards maintaining a stable Government against heavy odds, and restoring the prestige of Congress to a considerable extent, in this State.

“ His executive action in suspending land grants to political sufferers and his policy of gradual relaxation of controls together with his attempts to introduce economies in all possible directions without impairing efficiency, have earned for him esteem and affection from the people of this State. The way in which the Government have tackled the problem of combating the famine conditions in Rayalaseema by spending fairly large sums of money has succeeded to a very remarkable degree in alleviating the distress among the people there. The assistance rendered to handloom weavers by organising co-operative societies and advancing share capital due from individual members and making available credit required for producing yarn would go a long way in stabilising the handloom weaving industry on a stable basis.

“ The preliminary accounts for 1951-52 disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 3.29 crores, as against an anticipated deficit of only Rs. 10 lakhs in the revised estimates, mainly on account of the fall in revenues under Land Revenues, General Sales Tax, and Electricity Schemes. Budget estimates for the current year (1952-53) anticipate a deficit of Rs. 3.59 crores, as against an anticipated deficit of Rs. 86 lakhs in the interim budget. This increase in deficit is largely accounted for by the anticipated reduction in General Sales Tax. The Finance Minister appears to have based these calculations on the assumption that there would be a good revival in trade activity in the near future from the present recession in prices. It is rather difficult to hazard any guess about any marked revival of trade activity in our country in the near future, unless the Government of India take active steps to promote our export trade, and try to remove or relax the undue and somewhat irksome checks which the Reserve Bank imposed over the entire credit mechanism of the country in their anxiety to follow a dis-inflationary policy. It should not therefore surprise the members of this House if they are faced with a larger deficit at the end of the year than that anticipated at present.

“ It is really gratifying to note that the Government have made substantial provision in the revenue account for new schemes covered by the National Plan. A sum of Rs. 16 lakhs is being sanctioned for providing drinking water in Agency areas. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the numerous and untold miseries which the people in many areas in our State had to undergo in summer months for want of drinking water. People had to go for long distances to quench their thirst. Many could not have a comfortable bath for days together. Fresh water was believed to have sold at fancy prices. Such conditions prevailed not only in drought affected areas like the Ceded Districts, but also in many areas in Northern Circars.

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In a major municipality like Guntur and in many other big centres in Guntur District, people are still undergoing numerous difficulties to get even drinking water, and unless the Government give highest priority for all schemes intended to give at least drinking water to the people, it would leave an indelible blot on our civilization. It is an irony that even in a town like Guntur which is one of the most important commercial and industrial centres in our State, and which is only situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Buckingham Canal, people had been continuously undergoing numerous difficulties for a number of years even for getting adequate fresh water for drinking purposes; let alone for other purposes. There has been an inordinate delay in the execution of water works scheme in this town, and nobody seems to be anxious about the completion of this work. Though the scheme was sanctioned about half a decade ago, the progress is most unsatisfactory. The Government must press Public Works Department to expedite and complete the scheme before next summer. Else, the population of Guntur municipal town will have to face another catastrophe, during the next summer months. The Finance Minister has no doubt provided funds in the present Budget for the expansion of Guntur Medical College, Government Hospital and also Andhra Government Women College, Guntur. Unless the Government choose to press the concerned Departments to speed up the works, the results are bound to be unsatisfactory. The Government must make the Medical College, a full blown College within a year or two.

“ The Finance Minister has no doubt made a very strong plea for imposing additional taxation to bridge the revenue deficit for the current year. I am afraid that some of the measures proposed by him may not bring as much revenue as he anticipates, and would probably lead to unnecessary complications in the matter of administration and in the collection of these taxes. A very large majority of the population depends on agriculture in this State. At a time like this, when far-reaching changes are expected to take place in the agricultural economy of our country, particularly in the matter of limitation of holdings, redistribution of surplus land, tenancy rights, etc., it is doubtful how far the levy of a surcharge on land revenue and a betterment tax on land, are going to help the Finance Minister in achieving his objects.

“ As regards the levy of a graduated surcharge on land revenue which includes water tax, it may be mentioned that this is one tax which has not been touched by the Government during the past few years. The land revenue re-settlement is to be made once in thirty years, and the last re-settlement was made about 20 years ago. A large percentage of land in our State is under food crops. The prices, particularly of food crops, have been controlled during the past seven or eight years on account of the anxiety on the part of the Government to acquire the food crops to be distributed to the various sections of the population at minimum cost. The agriculturists have not, therefore, been allowed to be benefited either during the war period or immediately after the war from the general

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rise in prices. The agriculturist had to pay for most of the commodities he had to buy, comparatively much higher prices while he was unable to realize higher prices for his produce on account of the existence of controls. Now with the possibility of the prices coming down, any imposition of an additional levy on land revenue is bound to cause much hardship especially to the agriculturists in general and those who are producing food crops in particular. Commercial crops have been fetching greater yields to the agriculturists in the past few years and it would have been reasonable if those who produce cash crops and realize higher yields are asked to pay more than those who produce only food crops and realize comparatively less yields. Further, the fixing of minimum limit of Rs. 50 works out to a very great hardship, as the incidence of this tax on an average agriculturist would be very high. A man having even 4 to 4½ acres may be compelled to pay the increased tax from now onwards. This minimum limit may be raised to about Rs. 100, so as to give adequate relief to the small agriculturists. The Land Revenue Reforms Committee recommended a surcharge to be levied only on ryots paying more than Rs. 150 as kist. Even the rates of surcharge proposed by the Committee appear far more reasonable and equitable than the rates proposed by the Finance Minister. The same Committee also recommended fixing of shares of the produce between the landowner and the tenant in particular ratio, and now this additional levy on land revenue would further make inroads into the share allowed to the landowners. A uniform rate of surcharge on all dry and wet lands at differential rates, with provision for slightly higher rates on lands producing cash crops may yield a larger revenue with much simpler administration. I believe that all these points would receive due consideration.

"The levy of betterment fees on lands newly brought under irrigation may appear attractive on the face of it, but when one goes through the intricate details, he is faced with numerous complexities of the problem. It is intended that this tax will be levied with retrospective effect on those lands which were benefited even from 1943 onwards. To give retrospective effect in any tax measure is not a desirable thing in principle. It is proposed to capitalize the increase in yield by 30 times and to collect half of the same in 20 instalments. The possible increase in the yield is to be calculated in terms of money and this money value depends upon the prices of the agricultural commodities which vary from time to time. When once the increase in yield is fixed and capitalized it cannot be changed irrespective of the fact whether the agriculturists realized higher prices or lower prices in the past or whether he is going to realize higher or lower prices in the future. In all such cases wherever the particular area realized higher yield on account of the Government undertaking any expenditure it would be reasonable, to raise earmarked loans and collect those loans as a sort of compulsory contribution from the various tenants in those areas so that the people who receive the benefits may contribute for the improvements of their lands by way of loan at a nominal rate of interest.

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" The surcharge at the rate of one pie per mile on passengers travelling on public transport buses is an indirect tax and is very difficult to administer. A far more simple procedure would have been to raise the tax on buses and allow the bus-owners to collect this extra amount from the passengers by an increase in the bus fare. As far as passengers are concerned it makes very little difference. But there would be enormous savings in the matter of collecting these taxes and thus we would prevent the bus-owners from subjecting themselves to vexatious control of the numerous officials who may be deputed to collect this extra charge.

" It is not possible for anybody to take a very complacent view about ways and means. The Government have to spend a fairly large amount on various capital expenditure programmes and make provision not only for the repayment of the outstanding 3 per cent 1952 Loan, but also for making advances to the various local bodies. The Finance Minister hopes to raise a loan of Rs. 4 crores in the open market partly to meet the demand on the capital expenditure and partly for the repayment of the outstanding 3 per cent 1953 Loan. It is highly doubtful whether the Finance Minister could induce investors to give money at 3 per cent in case he desires the 1953 Loan to be replaced by another 3 per cent loan. In all probability, he will be called upon to pay a higher rate of interest than 3 per cent. It has not been possible even for the Union Government to float loans at 3 per cent. The tendency in the money market has been for a rise in interest rates and it is highly problematical how the Finance Minister is going to succeed in the matter of floating a Rs. 4 crore loan at any reasonable rate of interest. It is always desirable to have a very comfortable cash position. It may, therefore, be desirable for the Finance Minister to proceed cautiously in the matter of executing the various capital expenditure programmes in a very judicious manner.

" Before closing, I wish to speak a few words about the method of collection of sales tax and licence fees. When the sales tax was first introduced in 1939, the bulk of our groundnuts was exported and sales were finalized outside India. The legislators therefore deemed it expedient then to levy the tax at the purchase point and thus to bring the shippers of groundnuts within the scope of this taxation. In view of Article 286 (1) of the Constitution of India, the levy of sales or purchase tax on goods (groundnuts) in the course of exports has been discontinued. Further thanks to the change in the policy of the Government of India, the groundnut export has been mostly stopped and nearly 95 per cent of our productions are being crushed by our oil mills within the State. Only a very small quantity of groundnuts (not even 1 per cent of what it was previously) is now being given occasionally for export to satisfy the special trade agreements. The reason therefore for the conversion of sales tax into *purchase tax* on groundnuts has been removed and there only remains now the effect without any cause. This anomaly leads to a complicated system of rebates in order to preclude double taxation on groundnuts purchased for crushing. This naturally

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involves a lot of clerical work, maintenance of elaborate records and submission of a number of statements monthly by the assessesees. With the Department also, there is a lot of clerical work in checking the accounts and sanctioning the rebates due to millers. Therefore it stands to reason that the collection of sales tax on groundnuts must be immediately changed from the purchase point to the sales point. Only such a kind of procedure will be a logical one and in conformity with the Sales Tax Act and minimize unnecessary clerical work and litigations also, as owing to late submission of statements rebates are not readily granted and millers are forced to seek redress at the hands of the higher authority thereby wasting their energy, money, time, etc., on unnecessary things. If this change now requested is effected the Department's energy too can be spent in other directions, as for example, collection of tax from evaders, etc. On the question of licence fees, several authorities are collecting licence fees indiscriminately and not in connexion with the work involved. This is greatly hindering the industrial progress of the country. For instance licence fees on oils mills are being levied—

(1) by the Factories department on the basis of horse-power installed and labour employed,

(2) by Municipal authorities in each area on the same items, viz., on the machinery installed, as also for storage of groundnuts, coal, oil, cake, etc.,

(3) by the Agricultural department for selling the oilcake. and

(4) by the Market Committees for goods stored within the notified area.

What for various authorities collect these fees, God alone knows. Obviously, it must be with a view to increase the revenue of such bodies, which is against the spirit of Government Orders in this respect and Court's judgment also. If only one authority levies this fee and exercises the necessary control, that is sufficient. I feel, the Ministers in charge of Industries and Local Administration should sit together and discuss this point with the industrialists and then arrive at a fair and equitable method of collection of this licence fee."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"The House will now adjourn and meet again at 4 p.m. tomorrow."

The House then adjourned.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Friday, the 11th July 1952.

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St George, at four of the clock, Mr. Chairman (THE HON. DR. P. V. CHERIAN) in the Chair.

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Appointments excluded from the purview of the Madras Public Service Commission.

* 32 Q.—SRI T. PURUSHOTHAMA MUDALIAR: Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased—

(i) to lay on the table of the House a statement showing an up-to-date list of appointments under the State Government which are excluded from the purview of the Public Service Commission; and

(ii) to state—

(a) whether any regulations have been framed by this Government under proviso to clause 3 of Article 320 of the Constitution of India; and

(b) whether steps are being taken to bring all the appointments under the purview of the State Public Service Commission?

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“(i) A statement^a is placed on the table of the House.

“(ii) (a) Regulations have been framed by the Governor.

(b) The intention of the Government is that as many posts as possible should be brought within the purview of the Madras Public Service Commission without any sudden or inconvenient increase in the Commission's work and staff and this policy is being worked out.”

SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—“Have the Regulations been published, Sir?”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Yes, Sir.”

SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—“Sir, are they under Article 320 of the Indian Constitution?”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Sir, all these Regulations are published from time to time as these various transfers are made to the Public Service Commission.”

SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—“Sir, my point is that Article 320 (3) of the Constitution empowers the Governor to make Regulations specifying when it shall not be necessary to

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consult the Public Service Commission. May I know, Sir, whether these regulations have been published under the provisions of this Article of the Constitution? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Yes, Sir. It has been published under the provisions of this Article in the Constitution."

Appointment of District Judges from the Bar.

* 33 Q.—SRI T. PURUSHOTHMA MUDALIAR : Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government propose to appoint District Judges by direct recruitment from the Bar and if so, whether they have called for applications from members who have not completed 45 years of age;

(b) whether the Government have any proposal to relax the age-rule in the case of applicants belonging to Scheduled and Backward Communities; and

(c) whether the post falls within the purview of the Public Service Commission for selection of candidates?

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" (a) The answer is in the affirmative. There is only one vacancy now to be filled by direct recruitment. Applications were called for on 9th November 1951 and 24th March 1952. The applications have been forwarded to the High Court and its recommendations are awaited.

" (b) The age-limit does not apply to members of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes and so no relaxation of rule is necessary.

" (c) No, Sir. Article 233 of the Constitution explains why the reference is to the High Court and not to the Public Service Commission."

SRI T. PURUSHOTHMA MUDALIAR :—" Sir, will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to enlighten why an age-limit for candidates has been prescribed in the notification inviting applications to the post when Article 233 (2) of the Constitution does not lay down any such age-limit for direct recruitment to the higher judiciary? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, the age-limit has been prescribed in the interests of the public service. It is not usual to directly recruit old people. The qualification was originally ten years standing as an Advocate but now it is only seven years standing. We have taken the normal period which a lawyer would take to finish seven years standing and, I believe, the age-limit would not appear to be too much."

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Rural dispensaries maintained by district boards.

* 34 Q.—SRI T. PURUSHOTHAMA MUDALIAR : Will the Hon. the Minister for Health be pleased—

(i) to lay on the table of the House a statement showing—

(a) the number of rural dispensaries maintained by each of the district boards (separate figures to be furnished for different systems of medicine); and

(b) the details of the staff provided for each of the rural dispensaries; and

(ii) to state—

(a) whether the district boards have represented to the Government about the need for providing a compounder or nursing orderly for each of these dispensaries;

(b) the subsidy or the scale of pay allowed to the Medical Officer and the staff of the rural dispensaries;

(c) whether the Medical Officer and staff are treated as full-time servants;

(d) whether they are granted dearness allowance according to the usual scales; and

(e) whether they will be eligible for the free educational and other concessions allowed to Government and local board employees?

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“(i) (a) A statement^a is placed on the table of the House.

(b) The minimum staff for a rural dispensary is a Medical Practitioner. In addition, a maternity assistant, a compounder and a dispensary servant are sanctioned for a rural dispensary according to the requirements of the dispensaries.

“(ii) (a) The question does not arise in view of the answer to clause (i) (b) above.

(b) The medical practitioners and the maternity assistants are given subsidies as shown below :—

	Plains.		Agency.
	RS.		RS.
Graduates	900	per annum.	1,080
Licentiates, Modern Medicine and Indigenous Medicine.	780	..	900
Maternity assistants, I Class ..	480	..	600
Maternity assistants, II Class ..	420	..	..

The compounders are paid Rs. 30 per mensem and the dispensary servants Rs. 10 per mensem.

(c) Only compounders and dispensary servants are treated as full-time servants of the district boards.

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(d) The compounders and dispensary servants are paid dearness allowance from the funds of the district boards.

(e) Only compounders and dispensary servants will be eligible for the free educational and other concessions allowed to Government and local board employees."

SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR :—" May I know, Sir, whether the Government would agree to district boards employing nursing orderlies in rural dispensaries if they apply for the same? "

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—" Sir, no necessity is felt for these nursing orderlies in the rural dispensaries."

SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR :—" Sir, are figures for Rural Dispensaries of Indigenous Medicine given or are there no dispensaries at all? "

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—" Sir, the details are given in the statement."

DR. S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI :—" May I know, Sir, whether the Government would consider the desirability of increasing the subsidy to the Rural Medical Practitioners for the reason that they are not now attracted to the villages and rural medical aid is inadequate? I would also like to know whether the Government will consider the desirability of increasing the subsidy from Rs. 900 per annum to something like the salary of the Civil Assistant Surgeons? "

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—" The subsidy was enhanced, Sir, only in 1949. There is no proposal to increase it further just now."

DR. S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI :—" Will the Government consider, Sir, the suggestion made by me because rural medical aid is very inadequate and medical practitioners are not attracted to the rural areas for the reason that there are no amenities there for them or for the nurses? "

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—" Sir, the problem of rural medical relief and how to attract medical practitioners to rural areas is under the consideration of Government and it is proposed shortly to call a conference of a few medical men belonging to Medical Associations to consult them about this matter."

DR. S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI :—" Sir, will the Government invite medical women also to that conference of medical men because we do need a large number of women medical practitioners in rural areas? "

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—" Sir, only men medical officers are employed at rural dispensaries."

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Exhibition of films regarding visual education in schools and colleges.

* 35 Q.—SRI G. KRISHNAMURTHI: Will the Hon. the Minister for Education be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have any proposal to issue licences during 1952–53 to private exhibitors of films in connexion with visual education in secondary schools and colleges; and

(b) if not, whether the Government propose to take up for sale the equipment of the private exhibitors who were issued licences in the previous years?

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“(a) No.

“(b) The matter is under consideration.”

SRI G. KRISHNAMURTHI :—“May I know, Sir, whether in view of the fact that the Government during the last six months or more have not taken for sale the equipment with the private exhibitors, the Government would give an assurance on the floor of this House that they will do so within a month or two?”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“Sir, as I have already stated, the matter is under the consideration of the Government and correspondence is going on between the Director of Public Instruction and the Government. I cannot give a categorical promise that it will be done within a month.”

SRI G. KRISHNAMURTHI :—“Sir, an assurance had been given even on the 27th November 1951 through a communication of the Government that the matter of sale would be considered by them. As more than seven months have elapsed, I would like to have an assurance from the Government whether they are going to take the films for sale in the interests of the economy of the country before purchasing new films from abroad or not.”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“Sir, it is not merely a question of purchasing films. It is a question of purchasing other apparatus too which is obviously second-hand. The interests of the Government and the public have also to be safeguarded by a careful scrutiny of the matter before a decision is taken.”

SRI G. KRISHNAMURTHI :—“May I know, Sir, why when over a thousand schools have not been equipped with projectors and films, the Government have suddenly come to the conclusion, after an experiment of one year, that private enterprise should be discouraged in this respect and schools should wait till they collect funds from the pupils with which to purchase projectors and films?”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“Sir, the decision was taken in March 1951, when the entire responsibility for imparting visual education in educational institutions rested with the Government to the exclusion of private exhibitors.

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The Central Film Library in the office of the Director of Public Instruction has been enlarged to the extent necessary and the schools are being asked to supply themselves with equipment. During the last year permits were given to some of the exhibitors to continue to exhibit their films. The latest decision was that it was not necessary to continue that arrangement."

SRI G. KRISHNAMURTHI :—" May I know, Sir, whether it is a fact that whereas 52 private exhibitors were licensed in 1950-51 only 9 were given licences during 1951-52 and, if so, the reason therefor? "

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, in 1951-52 no licences as such were given. Only some permits were given and they were necessarily limited in view of the policy of the Government."

SRI G. KRISHNAMURTHI :—" May I know, Sir, why this policy has been adopted by the Government from 1951-52 and why children in rural parts, especially in local board schools, should be deprived of the opportunity of visual education which they were enjoying during the year 1950-51 and why private enterprise should be throttled sacrificing the interests of the pupils and the public who have been contributing to the fund as special fees? "

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, until March 1951, the policy of the Government in the matter of audio-visual education was to allow private agencies to exhibit films in schools on terms to be settled between the managements and the exhibitors. It was found that there was considerable commercialisation and exploitation in this affair. The Government, therefore, in view of the principle of imparting visual instruction within the school hours in co-operation with the teachers in charge of it, decided upon a policy of eliminating commercialisation and exploitation."

SRI G. KRISHNAMURTHI :—" May I know, Sir, how there could have been commercial exploitation when the fees had been limited with reference to the number of films that had to be shown and how could the Government's account show so many thousands of rupees as having been made by the private film exhibitors unless hundreds of films had been exhibited by private exhibitors to enable them to realize such large amounts? "

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—" I am afraid, I will be drawn into a debate on this question. I have only to state that the charges made by private exhibitors were bound to be very high and there was an attempt to reduce it and bring it within reasonable limits."

SRI G. KRISHNAMURTHI :—" May I, as a concluding question, Sir, just get an assurance from the Government that, at least at the low rates which have been prescribed by the Government, they will allow the 52 private exhibitors who were doing

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some good social education work in 1950-51 to continue their work in the year 1952-53 or until such time as all schools are provided with their own projectors and films? "

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, Government will not only hasten the purchase of the equipment but will consider the hon. Member's suggestion also if it is necessary in the interests of education."

Delay in the preparation of estimates and execution of panchayat works.

* 36 Q.—SRI T. PURUSHOTHAMA MUDALIAR : Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration be pleased to state -

(a) whether representations have been made by the Panchayats about the great delay and difficulty experienced by them in the preparation of estimates for and execution of Panchayat works;

(b) whether centage charges are recovered from the Panchayats by the Highways Department for preparation of estimates for Panchayat works and execution thereof; and

(c) what steps the Government propose to take for the prompt execution of Panchayat works by the Highways Department?

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—" (a) Representations were received from certain Panchayats regarding the difficulty experienced by them in the preparation of estimates for works relating to panchayats and in their execution.

" (b) Yes.

" (c) Government have approved a scheme for the appointment of one overseer for each Deputy Panchayat Officer's range to assist the panchayats in that range in the preparation of estimates and execution of works relating to Panchayats. To start with, the scheme has been put into operation in 12 selected Deputy Panchayat Officers' ranges. It is proposed to extend the scheme to other ranges also after the result of the working of the scheme in the selected areas is known."

SRI T. PURUSHOTHAMA MUDALIAR :—" Sir, as the Government are levying centage charges on panchayat works, may I know if it would not be better if the Government appoint a special staff under the Divisional Engineers (Highways), so that they could prepare estimates and expedite the execution of panchayat works? "

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—" Sir, at present this experiment is being tried and some more overseers can be appointed."

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[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—GOVERNMENT BUSINESS.

GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—*cont.*

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SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I begin with the Services. It was said in the other House by Mr. P. T. Rajan, the Leader of the Justice Party, that for a good and efficient administration it is necessary to have an able, efficient and contented Service. With that general proposition, I find myself in complete agreement. There ought to be a contented Service for every good administration. The Leader of the Justice Party went on to say that there was a contented Service under this Government, and the Hon. the Finance Minister cited that statement with obvious satisfaction. So, let us see whether there is a contented Service now under the present Government? I am not talking about the few highly placed officials who are getting thousands of rupees as salaries and who come in daily contact with the Ministers of the Government. Probably they are contented. Let us look at the 80 or 85 per cent of those Government servants who do not come under the category of ‘Gazetted Officers’. What are the salaries and emoluments paid to them? It is generally believed that the minimum salary paid by the Government is something like Rs. 45 per month and that the majority of non-gazetted officers are supposed to begin their career with a salary of Rs. 45 per month. Sir, it is only when we look into the actual figures of salaries furnished in the budget, we find that the vast majority of the Services, which are supposed to be contented, are given as salary either Rs. 30 or below. Do the Services say that they are contented? The Police Constable is paid a salary of Rs. 30 per month. The Elementary School Teacher gets Rs. 30 as his basic salary. The Jail Warders get Rs. 30 as salary. Sir, this salary of Rs. 30 itself is bad enough. One will be surprised to know, that the vast majority of the members of the Inferior and Subordinate Services get much less than Rs. 30 per month. The Blue Printer in the Madras Town-Planning Department gets Rs. 25 per month. The Field Assistants belonging to the Madras Public Health Service get Rs. 25. The Nursing Orderlies in the Madras Medical Subordinate Service get Rs. 24 a month as salary. The Attenders belonging to the Madras General Subordinate Service get Rs. 24 a month. How can a person live on Rs. 24 a month and keep his body and soul together? Obviously it is not the intention of the Government that the body and soul should be kept together. There are also members belonging to the Services who are getting Rs. 20 as salary per month. The Firemen Labourers belonging to the Madras Fire Subordinate Service get Rs. 20 as salary per month. The Blue Print Operators (II Grade) in the Madras Engineering Subordinate Service get Rs. 20 a month as salary. The Senior Flockmen in the Madras Veterinary Subordinate Service get Rs. 20 as salary.

“ The Hon. the Finance Minister is not here. I would have liked to put him a straight question : ‘ Does he know the lowest

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salary which a Government servant gets? I am asking the Hon. Chief Minister whether he is aware of the lowest salary which a Government servant, under the so-called contented service, is getting? He can answer, if he is aware of it. I will read out a few more figures.

"The Attendants in the Forest Subordinate Service get Rs. 18 a month. The Peons and Lascars belonging to the Madras Inferior Service get Rs. 18 a month. The Cleaner in the Madras Operation Subordinate Service gets Rs. 18 per month. The Ayahs, and the Nursing Orderlies of the Madras Medical Subordinate Service get Rs. 18 and Rs. 17 respectively. The Junior Flockmen belonging to the Madras Veterinary Subordinate Service get Rs. 15. A good number of Watchmen in the Madras Government Inferior Services get a princely sum of Rs. 15 a month.

"Sir, if a person is paid a salary as low as Rs. 15 a month, how is he to carry on his life with his family consisting of his wife and children? He has to purchase food and clothing for himself and for his family, all within Rs. 15 a month. I ask the Hon. Chief Minister, what else can these people do but to beg? We see a number of people—peons and watchmen—asking for 'baksheesh' from visitors to the Government Offices. It is said, this is 'corruption or illegal gratification'. I admit, but I ask: 'Are not the Government compelling these people to resort to the so-called bribery?' I think, it is better to describe this practice as 'beggary' instead of 'corruption'. Sir, the Government have fixed minimum wages to people employed by private employers. I ask the Hon. Chief Minister, as the Hon. Finance Minister is not here, 'You are asking the private employers to pay living wages to their employees. Does this not apply to the Government?' Is it not the duty of the Government to pay living wages to members of the so-called contented Service? The Hon. the Finance Minister has got peculiar notions about a 'living wage'. In his Budget speech he says that he has brought forward a 'magnificent' scheme for alleviating the distress of the handloom weavers and they are going to be given a subsistence wage of Rs. 15 a month. I ask the Government; 'Is that a living wage or is that their idea of a living wage?' Sri P. T. Rajan, the Leader of the Justice Party, has certified that the Services are contented. I ask, what does he know of the Services? The peons who stand at the doors of the Offices or at the doors of the houses of Ministers will be able to tell whether they are contented or not. The vast majority of Government servants are not getting a living wage. I ask the hon. Member (Dr. C. Nathamuni Naidu) to try to live within Rs. 24 per month and see whether it is sufficient. I want merely to explain, Sir, the difficulties experienced by the members of the so-called Inferior and Subordinate Services. Recently it was published in the newspapers that Mr. Kalyanasundaram Ayyar of North Arcot district from where the hon. Member, Dr. C. Nathamuni Naidu, hails, represented to the District Collector about the case of a Government servant starving every night. The cases of the Non-Gazetted Officers who are drawing a salary of Rs. 45 a month have

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been repeatedly put forward to the Hon. Chief Minister. There was a report in the newspapers—it may be right or wrong—that some of the Non-Gazetted officers drawing a salary of Rs. 45 per month made a representation for an increase in their salaries to the Hon. Chief Minister when he attended some anniversary. The Hon. Chief Minister very rightly pointed out to them that a small increase in their pay would not be of much value to them and, if a small increase in their salaries was sanctioned, they might spend that by going to the cinemas which was bad for the eyes and which was also bad from the moral point of view or they might spend that extra money on smoking, which was bad for the lungs. I agree with the Hon. Chief Minister that it is bad for the eyes to go to the cinema, and it is also bad for the lungs to smoke. I myself do not smoke cigarettes. I ask the Hon. Chief Minister whether he should not apply the same principle in the case of the highly placed officials who are getting much more by way of salary than these non-gazetted officials who are getting Rs. 45 or Rs. 50 per month. The Hon. the Chief Minister gave also a sermon on that occasion from the Bhagavad Gita that one should do one's duty without caring for rewards and it was doing the 'duty' that mattered and not the money rewards. That is indeed a statement of very high principles. I ask the Government whether these principles do not apply to the big officers who are drawing a salary of Rs. 3,000 and above, to the Hon. Ministers of the Government, to the Chief Whip of the Government who is given Rs. 700 or even the Governor. Many of these non-gazetted officers will rather submit themselves to the supposed injury that might be caused to them by getting a little more money than altogether being deprived of it.

4-30
P.m.

"I would ask the Hon. the Chief Minister and also the Hon. the Minister for Finance with all humility to give that advice to the highest paid officials in the State, to the Ministers and to His Excellency the Governor. On the previous occasion when we discussed the question of the moneys expended on the Governor, I did not have the figures with me and I was contradicted. I said categorically that the sum expended on the Governor was Rs. 10 lakhs and the Hon. the Minister for Finance immediately jumped up and contradicted me: 'How dare you say that it is Rs. 10 lakhs? You are always giving wrong figures.' I humbly asked him if it was not ten lakhs, what was the real figure, and he replied that it was Rs. 7 lakhs. I submit that it does not reduce the force of my arguments. I have now got the correct figures. The Hon. the Chief Minister was good enough to draw the attention of the legislators to the very high and noble example of Dr. Jeyasoorya who made a wrong statement in Parliament but when the mistake was pointed out to him, he was ready and willing to come forward with an apology for the wrong statement he had made. That was commended by the Hon. the Chief Minister. The Hon. the Chief Minister says that he did not commend Mr. Jeyasoorya's action but was commenting upon it. I suppose he does not commend a man making an apology when he makes a mistake and the mistake

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is pointed out to him! For my figures, I rely upon the Budget Memorandum, page 71. I shall now read the various figures because on the last occasion when I committed a mistake the Members on the Treasury Benches had a laugh over it. This is what is stated in the Budget—

	LAKHS.
Salary of the Governor	66

which is Rs. 10,000 more than what the Raja Government provided because the Government is now headed by Rajaji, with two additional letters to the name—

	LAKHS.
Sumptuary allowance	23

This is not subject to audit and then we have—

	LAKHS.
Secretarial staff to the Governor	46
Staff and household of the Governor	2.48
Expenditure from contract allowance	1.50

This is not subject to audit and any amount of expenditure can be made and no question can be asked about the expenditure.

	LAKHS.
Tour expenses	1.71
Discretionary grants by His Excellency the Governor	25

If these figures are added up, it comes to Rs. 7,29,000. But then there are the other charges on this account as stated on page 72 of the Budget :—

	RS.
Improvements to official residence	50,000
Maintenance of gardens	64,000
Electricity	55,000
Water	17,000
Taxes	46,000
Repairs	1,03,000

which if added, gives a figure of Rs. 3,35,000. Then there is power for him to re-appropriate from one head to another."

DR. C. NATHAMUNI NAIDU :—" This represents capital expenditure."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" My hon. Friend says that this is capital expenditure for the Governor. I wish only to ask him how expenditure on water, electricity, repairs, taxes and maintenance on gardens could be brought under capital expenditure. Any way, Sir, whether it is capital or other expenditure, the total amount expended for the Governor is Rs. 10 lakhs per year. But the Hon.

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the Finance Minister contradicted me on the last occasion. I do not know if my arithmetic is wrong; if so, I would ask any one of his experts to add these figures and find out whether it comes to the round figure of Rs. 10 lakhs. I know it is a delicate thing to ask His Excellency to reduce the expenditure a little in view of the distress and misery prevailing in the State on account of the low purchasing power of the people. It is a delicate thing for the Hon. the Chief Minister to do. I am not asking him to do it because the moment the Hon. the Chief Minister goes to the Governor and asks him to cut down the expenditure what will Shri Sri Prakasa, the Governor, say? Will he not ask him: 'Is this not ingratitude on your part; I have done so much for the Congress party and have put the Government of the State in the hands . . . ' "

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I do not think that the hon. Member is justified in making the remarks; this is not the way."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" Is it your ruling, Sir, that I must not refer to the Governor because I must bow to your ruling now. But in doing so, let me know the terms of the ruling. Must I not refer to the Governor at all? "

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I do not object to it at all; but the hon. Member must do that in dignified and courteous terms."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" I will refer to His Excellency in the most courteous terms."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The hon. Member was asking for a ruling, Sir. It is not for me to give a ruling on the point but I wish to raise a point of order. I wish to submit Sir, that the imaginary conversation that he was proceeding to detail is totally out of order."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" If the Hon. Chief Minister is not to approach His Excellency the Governor, I submit it is open to the Hon. the Finance Minister to do it and it can be done in the most humble manner and in the most delicate manner."

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" I wish to know whether His Excellency has anything to do with the framing of the Budget for the Governor's estimates or whether it is others that are responsible for it."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" I take it, Sir, that it is the Hon. the Minister for Finance that is responsible for it and therefore, I am putting it to him. He is not here; he ought to be here to hear the criticisms of the Opposition on the Budget. I have got to imagine he is here and I suppose whatever suggestions are made here will certainly be carried to him. After all, Sir, delicate things have been solved by the Hon. the Minister for Finance; he is a capable person and he has got much persuasive powers. It is well known that when the . . . "

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ I am surprised at the extreme want of understanding of the hon. Member. Any observations made by him are made to the Government as such and it is not necessary for the Finance Minister to be here at all times. Therefore, he need not stress his absence so much. He is ill at home and I am here and the whole Government is here and the Leader of the Opposition may make any observations; they will be noted and will receive attention. There is no point, I submit, in carrying on a debate without this elementary understanding.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ The elementary understanding is that Rs. 10 lakhs of public money is spent on the Governor; that is the elementary and basic thing, which the poor people of the State cannot bear. About the Hon. the Finance Minister, I did not know that he was ill and I am so sorry. If I had known that he was ill, I would not have made that observation. But whatever observation I was making was not against his ability. I was merely saying that he was a very capable person; I was not saying that he was incapable. Without going into the details whether the Hon. the Chief Minister or the Finance Minister should approach, I leave that topic and I merely expect some miracle whereby this considerable expenditure out of public funds could be saved.

“ About miracles, it has been said by the hon. Members sitting on that side that one of the miracles performed by this Government since they took up office, was that they produced rain. It was said here that there was a downpour of rain after the present Government took up the reins of office. It may be a miracle or not; it may be due to anything; it may be due to the Hon. the Chief Minister being one of the Members of the Government or it may not be due to it. But these are all matters which are not fit for discussion in this House and it had much better be discussed at public meetings where no restrictions regarding parliamentary expressions and the like holds good. But a miracle supposed to have been performed by the Government and the Hon. the Chief Minister which is a matter of importance and which must be mentioned here is derationing. The announcement regarding derationing was made over the radio on the 6th night. I freely admit that there has been a sense of relief all round. People in all walks of life felt that unnecessary restrictions have been removed and as a whole they felt much relieved that they were now free at last from the tyranny of officials, from the vexatious regulations of the Government and the Government also felt that they were relieved from the attendant accusation of being the (six-ounce Government); big landlords felt free because they need not sell their grains at controlled prices; blackmarketers felt free because they might sell rice at any profit because there was no restriction and there was a general sense of freedom. People felt as much relieved as one would feel if a tight shoe that had been chafing the skin for a long time had been suddenly removed. The sense of relief was there. But we have got to look at the real facts as they are. Rationing, I must tell you, Sir, was not

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the malady. What was the disease? The disease was scarcity and rationing and controls were the medicines. The medicine has been stopped and should we not have an indication that the disease has ceased to exist? Is there more production? In fact, the Hon. the Chief Minister at Anantapur went to the extent of saying that he will not continue in office if decontrol fails. I have got the actual quotation in case there is a denial. He said that if decontrol succeeds, he would remain in office, if it does not, he will not continue in the Government. What, may I ask, is the meaning of the success of decontrol? In season and out of season, it has been said that plenty of rice is available in the market.

4-45
p.m.

“ Sir, the Hon. the Finance Minister has said in one of his speeches that rice is now available in plenty. May I ask, at what price? Rice has always been available in plenty. In Bengal when hundreds of thousands of persons died for want of rice, even then rice was available in plenty. There is no dearth of rice but it is available at a price beyond the reach of the people. If the Government supply rice to the people at the original control price, then this policy of decontrol will succeed. Sir, when I listened to the broadcast of the Hon. Chief Minister over the radio on the 6th June, I was listening carefully to see whether there was any reference to the prices. He said, ‘Decontrol must succeed. Now farmers are free to take rice anywhere to sell at any price they like.’ On the next morning, that is on the 7th June, the Hon. Chief Minister said, ‘The free market rice would become cheaper than the rice supplied in the fair price shops and ultimately we might find it difficult to sell our rice in fair price shops as we cannot reduce the prices’. So on the 7th June, the Hon. the Chief Minister had an idea of what was meant by ‘success of decontrol’, namely, that rice would be made available to the people at the control price. I am soon coming to the point, what is meant by control price? I would point out that, by repeated assertions, the Government have held out promises to the people of this State that rice will be available to them freely in any quantity at the former control price. Now, the Hon. Minister for Food on the 12th June said: ‘The retail price of rice available in the open market would stabilise round about the control price at which rice is sold in the fair price shops.’ Then, Pandit Nehru on the 13th June said that the prices of foodgrains in the Madras State both in the free market and in the blackmarket were below the control price. Obviously Pandit Nehru made that statement from the facts supplied by this Government. Then again, on the 21st June, the Hon. Minister for Food, in his radio speech, said: ‘An all-round fall in the price of rice in the open market has been reported from all centres. Rice is said to be available in the open market in some centres at a price on a level with the control price.’ Rice is available in some markets at the control price! Then he says, ‘The Government are confident that the prices will settle down soon and stabilise round about the level of the control price.’ Now I have read out the statements made first by the Hon. Chief Minister, then the Hon. Minister for Food, then by the Prime Minister of India and

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then by the Hon. Minister for Food again, to the effect that the prices would not only come down to the level of control price but would remain there stabilised.

“ Now, what are the control prices? In Madras, the control price of first sort raw rice is Re. 0-13-6 per measure and boiled rice Re. 0-13-3. The second sort raw rice is Re. 0-10-6 per measure and boiled rice Re. 0-10-0. Now, Sir, we are not concerned with the first sort rice. Let the first sort rice be consumed by the zamindars, millowners and landed proprietors. Let them eat the first sort. We do not care about them. What we want is that the second sort rice which is sold at 10 annas per Madras measure must be made available in larger quantities to the people. Has that been done? Sir, when it appeared in the newspapers some time ago that rice was available in Pattukkottai, Tanjore district, at 8 annas per Madras measure, I immediately sent a man to Pattukkottai to find out whether it was a fact. The price there was 14 annas per measure. Then a hunt was made for the correspondent who sent the news but the correspondent went underground. On another occasion, in another paper, a statement was made that rice was available at 9 annas per measure but it did not reveal where it was available. Therefore, the fact remains that till now the price in the free market is very much higher than the control price which is 10 annas per Madras measure. We are asking for nothing more and nothing less than what the Hon. Chief Minister has promised us. He must keep up the promise he made at a public meeting in Anantapur when he even staked his very office on this question of success of decontrol. He did not define what he meant by ‘ success of decontrol ’. The Hon. Minister for Finance has stated in unambiguous terms that the price of rice would be brought down to 10 annas per Madras measure and that it would stabilise there. Sir, if anyone says that it has already come down to that level, there is absolutely no truth in it. If it is true that the prices in the free market have already come down to the control price, I ask, why are the Congress M.L.As from Tanjore district asking for fair price shops. They tried to abolish fair price shops in Nagapattinam, Mayuram and Tanjore. With what result? In Tanjore the people who were earning 10 annas a day went to the shop to get a Madras measure of rice but they were asked to pay more. They did not have money and so they agitated that fair price shops should be opened in all the municipal towns in Tanjore district. The Government in three days reversed their original order dispensing with the fair price shops. Recently they tried it in Madras. Recently the price of rice sold in the railway grain-shops was increased and the railway workers struck work. People are now demanding that the promise held out to them by the Government that rice will be available in plenty at the control price should be carried out. I merely ask the Hon. Chief Minister to keep his promise? Try and bring down the price of rice with all the ability which you have, to the level of the control price. People expect you to do that. If the prices do not come down to that level it would mean that the people's interests have been sacrificed for the doctrine of ‘ free economy ’ and there would be

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nothing in the accusations made by people like Pandit Kunzru that it was political opportunism which was at the bottom of decontrol. Sir, people have no purchasing capacity. Now, you cannot ask a person to pay more than 10 annas per measure when he is accustomed to pay only 10 annas. Even if you ask him to pay more, he cannot pay it.

“ Sir, members on the Government Benches talked about high principles and said that decontrol was the result of the principles enunciated by Mahatmaji. It was said repeatedly that Gandhiji wanted decontrol. Sir, I admit that Gandhiji did want decontrol. But why do you drag in Gandhiji's name only for the purpose of decontrol? Do you follow Gandhiji in other things? Did not Gandhiji ask you to dissolve the Congress Party? Did you follow Gandhiji when you were elected leader of the Congress Party? You did not say that you would not form the Government in the name of the Congress for Gandhiji wanted to dissolve the Congress Party. What did Gandhiji say, two years after the attainment of Independence, about the Governor's salary? You did not quote Gandhiji for getting sanction to the Governor's salary. You did not quote Gandhiji for retaining the sales tax on foodgrains and salt. Are you not aware that Gandhiji wanted that no sales tax should be levied on foodgrains and salt? Did Gandhiji want lands to be distributed to political sufferers? You did not quote Gandhiji when you distributed 5 to 15 acres of land each to 11,000 political sufferers. Why do you quote Gandhiji now? My humble prayer is that the name of Gandhiji should be kept out of present-day politics. Enough damage has already been done by dragging God into politics.

“ Sir, I now come to the taxation proposals. The only question is, whether the people have got the capacity to bear the burden of further taxation. That is the one and only question that faces us. Now, here is a surcharge proposed to be levied on bus fares. In this connexion, I wish to draw the attention of the Hon. Finance Minister through the Hon. Chief Minister who is here to what the previous Finance Minister said. While on this subject of increasing the bus fares, he said: ‘ If people are able to travel by bus, let them travel. Those who have not got the money to travel by bus, let them walk.’ That is what he said, and the people have passed their judgment on his conduct. If this Finance Minister also persists in telling the public that only those who are able to pay should travel in buses and others should walk, I can only remind him of the fate that overtook the previous Finance Minister. Sir, on whom does this tax on bus fares fall? Which class of people will pay this tax. Certainly, many members of the Congress Party and people who have got money will not pay this tax. I am sure, the Hon. Finance Minister will not pay it. The Hon. Sri V. C. Palanisami Gounder will not pay it. The Raja of Chettinad, the Raja of Ramnad, the Raja of Kuruppan, the Zamindar of Edayakottai, the Zamindar of Kapileswarapuram and other big landlords will not pay it. This tax will fall heavily on the workers in factories, peasants, clerks, shop assistants and on the persons who go by the name of ‘ lower middle class people ’. It is that

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class of people definitely termed as 'donkeys' who will be affected by the increase in the bus fares. Who is to say whether this donkey can bear it or not? Not even the Hon. Minister for Finance, not even the Secretaries to Government, and not even their experts and advisers can say that. The only person who can say whether the donkey can bear it or not is the donkey itself. It's bone is already bent and if another burden is put on its back, the bone will break. Sir, the Hon. Minister for Finance may well ask me: 'All right, you do not want the passengers to pay. Then show me the way to get money. How am I to get this money? My Government needs three to four crores of rupees. Where is the money to come from?' "

JANAB A. M. ALLAPICHAJ:—"Tell them where the money 5 p.m. is?"

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"When the Hon. the Chief Minister asks me, I shall reply. Sir, Prohibition is sought to be retained, because drink is a tax on the poor. The Hon. Finance Minister said in the other House that he is anxious that the poor are not asked to pay and he wants, if possible, to exempt them from paying tax on foodgrains. Sir, regarding Prohibition, it is not a question whether the poor should not be asked to pay. You may justify Prohibition on moral grounds, on religious grounds and divine grounds but not on grounds of material finance.

"Sir, the alternative proposals which I have to submit are as follows: Firstly, eleven thousand assignments of land have been made to political sufferers. Each such assignment consists sometimes of five acres, ten acres and fifteen acres. The value of each acre varies from a thousand rupees to two thousand or two thousand and five hundred rupees. Now we shall put the value of an average assignment of land to political sufferers at Rs. 1,500. Then, the total value of the land given away free to political sufferers amounts to eight crores. I ask the Government to collect from the political sufferers half the value of the lands given free to them. Why do I say this? The Hon. Chief Minister said the other day that he cannot take back the lands from them in the course of interpellations in this House. When I asked him why he cannot bring a legislation for that, he said, he cannot bring such a legislation and he asked me to prepare a Bill. The United Democratic Front will prepare the necessary Bill, it will be a very good legislation when it comes into force. Now, Sir, suppose the Hon. Chief Minister demands from the political sufferers one-half of the value of the lands received free by them, he will get a revenue more than what he wants.

"Again, Sir, under Police, the amount now sought to be spent is the highest in the history of this Province. It is much more than what the previous Minister, Mr. Gopala Reddi spent. He said in this House, 'it is true that we are spending seven crores on the Police; but if only the Communists will come forward and tell us we will not indulge in violence I will spend only five crores.' Sir, whatever you may say about Mr. Gopala Reddi, he is very

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good in figures. He said, if an assurance is forthcoming from the Communists that they will not indulge in violence, there will be a saving of two crores under Police. Relying on that statement, I ask 'why cannot this Government save that two crores, now that the Communist Party and the U.D.F. Party have committed themselves to a policy of non-violence?' There is no violence in our programme. We are not out to loot police stations, we are not out to break down temples. There is no violence in the programme of the Communists, or the U.D.F. or the Forward Bloc or the Independents. Every Opposition party is now committed to the policy of the United Democratic Front. That being so, cannot Government now reduce Police expenditure by two crores, as suggested by Mr. Gopala Reddi. If only any one of these measures suggested by me is adopted, there will be no need for the sale of jewels for payment of tax or the need for the donkey to cry that its back has been broken; Government can run the administration with the funds they already have and with the moneys suggested by me.

"Then, Sir, I have to submit that in our State we should adopt and follow high principles of democracy. I have no time to expatiate on it. So I shall deal briefly with it here. Sir, at present, democracy does not exist in this State. We must take note of that fact. We see that Government is entrusted to a person, a nominated person, to one who has not come through the vote of the people. In a true democracy the person who runs the administration or the Government is one who has been elected by the people. Does that obtain in our State? Then there is no joint responsibility in the Cabinet. In a true democracy, the Cabinet as a whole decides every issue and takes the responsibility for its decision. Now, can any one say that obtains in this State? The issue of Prohibition is decided not by the Cabinet but by the Chief Minister. Can anyone say that Cabinet responsibility exists? Mr. Manickavelu Naicker, as leader of the Commonwealth party, before he became Minister has stated categorically that he would put down Prohibition as it had caused untold miseries to the country. He has given that undertaking; he has given it in writing; he has signed it as his pledge that he will try to build up Dravidastan and put down Prohibition. Now, was he consulted by the other Members of the Cabinet when they decided the Prohibition issue? Is this the way of fixing joint responsibility of the Cabinet? There must be some understanding among the Members of the Cabinet. Then, again, take another instance. The Hon. Revenue Minister said repeatedly that lands given away to political sufferers will be got back. How does he propose to do it in the face of the repeated statements to the contrary made by the Chief Minister in both Houses of Legislature? Where is the joint responsibility in the Cabinet? If it is a coalition ministry I can understand it. Now, everything is being done by the Hon. Chief Minister. I am saying this in the interest of true democracy. I am not asking that our Chief Minister should follow the example of the Bombay Chief Minister, who after getting himself nominated to the Council first, stood for election in one constituency

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and got returned. I concede, if our Chief Minister stood for election in some constituency, he would succeed. I am not saying, he cannot succeed. In the interest of true democracy, I want the people to see that the Government observe the principles of democracy and not merely pay lip service to it. We find in every subject that it is the Chief Minister who decides and not the other Ministers. If it is the subject of Prohibition, it is not the Hon. Minister, Mr. Palaniswami Gounder, the Minister for Prohibition, who has the final say in the matter, but it is the Chief Minister, who says: 'I stand or fall by Prohibition.' If control of food-grains is to go, it is the intuition of the Chief Minister that decides it. If the lands given to political sufferers are to be got back, it is not the Hon. Minister for Land Revenue that decides the matter, but it is the Chief Minister who decides it. So, I suggest that we must try to preserve some semblance of democracy.

"Then, Sir, a lot has been said about Communists. It is very often said that if the Congress does not rule the State, the Communists will come to power and there will be chaos. The Chief Minister is never tired of saying it. If only the Chief Minister should utter the word 'Communism' then immediately a set of people take to their heels because of fright. We are never frightened. There are some people like Dr. Nathamuni Naidu who, on hearing the word 'Communism', rush out and take shelter in police stations. It is not all people who are frightened by that word. It does frighten Rajahs, inamdars, feudal landlords, employers of labour and mill-owners. It does not frighten the common man. It does not frighten the ordinary people, the workers, the office employees, clerks and teachers. These people are not afraid of Communism. They are prepared to welcome Communism; they are prepared to vote for Communism.

"Now there is a talk of violence being adopted by the Opposition as Communists have joined the U.D.F. I can assure the House that there is no violence contemplated by the Opposition. Why should we commit violence? I go to a meeting and address them; the people are prepared to support and vote for my Communist friends. Why should I commit violence over the people whom we wish to serve? Why should I injure a man who is prepared to support me and vote for me? Then, Sir, there was a lot said about Russian money coming to us. The Hon. Finance Minister, who is not here now, said yesterday, 'You get money from Russia.' Another member said that he knew that some unknown person had sent an unknown sum of money which he refused to receive. That, according to him, is sufficient evidence to show that money is coming to us from Russia. The United Democratic Front knows it does not get money. 'Then where do you get money?' you may ask. It is true we are able to spend on elections as much money as the Congress Party. I shall tell you where the money comes from. People pay us. In the Aruppukottai constituency, when I first went there to work in that constituency, I found that the contesting candidate had not held a single meeting. He did not know what to do. He said, he had no money. I told him, 'Here is the money' and offered him some money. We held meetings. On the first

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day of the meeting, I appealed to the people saying 'Here is the U.D.F. candidate; he has come to you to seek your vote; he has not the power of the Government; he has not the power of the Press; he has not the power of the purse.' I asked the people to pay for his election expenses. They paid him immediately; they paid him his expenses not only for that meeting but also for the next meeting. If the Chief Minister has any doubt, let him come and see. I am holding a meeting next Sunday in the beach. The people will pay the expenses of that meeting and also something to spare. If Dr. Nathamuni Naidu has any doubt, he can come to the beach on Sunday next and see where the money for our expenses comes from, where the money for our propaganda comes from.

"Then, Sir, the Hon. Chief Minister said that if the Congress does not rule this State, there would be chaos. He is never tired of repeating, if he does not rule, if the Congress does not rule this State there would be chaos. Probably he has not read the U.D.F. and the Communist programme. We have got together a ready-made programme."

JANAB A. M. ALLAPICHAI:—"What about the Communist programme?"

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"The Communist Party and the U.D.F. have produced a joint programme. This programme is our Holy Bible; this is our Ramayana; this is our Gita. We have a common programme. The Hon. Chief Minister says, 'if the Congress does not rule this State there will be chaos; if I do not rule over it, there will be chaos.' I ask in all humility, 'Did not the British say the same thing; did they not say: if we leave the country there will be chaos.' Now it is those very words the Hon. Chief Minister is saying. That is the language of the imperialist. Are you not saying exactly what the British were saying. The British were saying that because they wanted to rule this country. Now you are using their very words because the Congress wants to rule this State. And did, what they said, happen? When the British left this country, was there chaos? No, there was no chaos. Even so, if the Congress does not rule this State there will be no chaos, no confusion.

"Then, Sir, the Hon. Chief Minister said in a certain place, I do not remember where, 'even if I were to accept the programme of the U.D.F. the opposition from the U.D.F. will persist.' Sir, let me declare here and now to the Chief Minister—I have got the authority from Mr. Rajeswara Rao and others of the party—if the Chief Minister accepts the U.D.F. programme we shall cease to oppose his Government; we will not say that he should resign. I ask him to put into force the U.D.F. programme to see the truth of this. Sir, as a person who has had a hand in the drafting of the U.D.F. programme, I say to the Chief Minister, he need not accept the whole of the programme. There is one pivotal article in that programme. I shall be satisfied if he accepts it. The pivotal point is that the Government should take the

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responsibility for providing employment for those who are not given employment and that Government should give food and shelter to those who are not given employment.

“ But that simple principle is not acceptable to the Congress Government. The other day also a newspaper reporter put a question to the Hon. the Chief Minister ‘ Why he could not accept such a simple thing as to guarantee a living for everybody so that we could keep life going? ’ My object in asking that he should accept this very small and simple thing is that when the Congress Government comes to an end and the United Democratic Front takes over, there may be some people left alive.

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“ What is the position to-day of those who have not got any work? Have this Government shown some way to the people who have no work? They have not. According to the Finance Minister's speech, even the gruel centres are not open to them. The gruel centres are open only to those who are infirm and sick. Able-bodied people, even though they are unemployed, are not entitled to this benefit. One must get infirm before he gets the right to the benefit of the gruel centre! Sir, able-bodied men are entitled to be given work. I will mention an incident which occurred when the Hon. Shri K. M. Munshi visited Rayalaseema as Food Minister of the Government of India. He attended a gruel centre. There were a number of people waiting to get their gruel and among the large number of infirm and decrepit people, he saw one able-bodied man. The Food Minister told him that he was not entitled to the benefit because he was able-bodied and asked that he should be removed. That man told Mr. Munshi ‘ It is not as if, Sir, I am here by my choice but I have not got any work. Give me work and I am prepared to work. If you are not prepared to take the responsibility of giving us work, we have only got to beg. ’ Recently, Sir, there was a case in Madurai of one Rayappan who was employed in a cloth shop while the business was good. When he lost his employment, he had nothing to do. He went from place to place in search of employment but he could not find any. So one day he gave poison to his wife, to two of his children and also poisoned himself. He left a letter in which he said, ‘ I have no employment and this place is not fit for poor people to live. Therefore I leave my life in the hands of God. ’ I ask the Hon. the Chief Minister as to what is to happen to these persons who are not able to find employment for themselves. I suppose the Government are aware that to-day more than 20,000 persons from various districts in Tamilnad are rotting helplessly in the streets of Nellore town in search of employment. There is no one to care for the people in the villages. There is a village in Kovilpatti taluk in which out of 60 houses 40 houses are empty. The people have gone away in search of employment. This Government takes no responsibility. The only course which this Government shows to the persons who are not able to get work is the way to Paradise! The Hon. Chief Minister may ask ‘ If all people are to be given work, will this earth become a paradise? ’ Sir, I have not seen a paradise. I am not an authority on it. But,

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I have seen several countries in the world. I have lived in Britain for many years. Britain is supposed to be a civilised country where the Government takes the responsibility to provide employment to every adult citizen."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The hon. Member's time is up."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" I hope, Sir, the Chief Minister has no objection to my taking some more time."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I will give the hon. Member five more minutes."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" Sir, on the question of belief in God, because the Hon. the Chief Minister talks every time of God and has brought God into politics, I must clarify the attitude of the United Democratic Front on this subject. You (to the Hon. Chief Minister) will never get us to cross swords with you on the issue of God. Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are not going to argue with the Hon. the Chief Minister. If he says there is God in the rivers, in the mountains and in the oceans, we say 'All right, let it be so'. If he says there is God in the smallest fibre and in the biggest pillar, we say 'Let it be so.' What I ask is, if that Omnipotent, Omnipresent God is present here in rice, then give that rice to my people who are now going without food; if that Omnipotent and Omnipresent God is present here in cloth, then give that cloth to my people and if that Omnipotent and Omnipresent God is present in the shape of employment, wages, and shelter in the shape of huts, give these to my people. Even if E. V. Ramaswami Periyar says there is no God in food, we want only food whether there is God in it or not. We are not concerned with whether there is God or not and we are not prepared to enter into a dispute on that. The Hon. the Chief Minister tried to drag some of us into a dispute by saying 'Oh, you have now changed. Now, you are not saying there is no God.' There is a God in whom everybody believes. Do I believe in God? It is a secret between me and my God. It is not for exhibition or display here. To us in the United Democratic Front there are far more important things.

" Though the Hon. Chief Minister might dispose of me by saying 'My boy, you are not experienced', I must put forward my programme. If the Hon. Chief Minister is not prepared to hand over the Government to the United Democratic Front, let him put us in charge of a district and we will show him how we will work. We accept that every man is entitled to a decent employment or food. The Hon. Chief Minister is not prepared to accept it. We are prepared to run the Government on this basis. My hon. Friend, the Chief Minister, will ask what will I do if the United Democratic Front gets into power. We will not be sitting here; we will not be going by first-class to Mathurai for the Meenakshi temple or by special train to Rameswaram. We will start big and heavy industries. There was an hon. Member from the Krishak Lok Party who said that the largest asset which we

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have in the State is the lignite deposits within hundred miles of Madras. We have got thousands of millions of tons of lignite. Why cannot we go there and employ ten thousand persons? I will go there and the United Democratic Front will not be going round receiving garlands and congratulations. There are iron ores in our State. The Japanese Delegation which recently came to this country wanted to carry these ores to Japan to give employment to their people. If they can do it, why can we not do it.

"My Friend Nathamuni Naidu talked about leadership of the world. Are we inferior to the other people in intellect? If 10,000 people could be employed usefully in Japan on Rs. 150 per month, if the Indian ores are taken to Japan, we can also do that. We can exploit our iron as well as aluminium ores. We can start more factories and enlarge our shipbuilding industry and in many other ways give employment to our people on decent wages. Sir, I can tell the Hon. the Chief Minister that there will be no chaos. We have got a plan. We can undertake to see that all our people are given employment on decent wages or given food. It was not my intention, Sir, to hurt the feelings of the Hon. the Chief Minister or the Hon. the Finance Minister. My only intention was to give him some food for thought. I can tell him that if he ceases to rule over us—as some day he must—he can find peace of mind in the fact that the Government will pass into the hands of people who will be well able to administer and well able to give people employment, wages, shelter, food and cloth. People are now roaming in the streets without the basic necessities of life. They are roaming about foodless, clothless, houseless, moneyless and workless. Something must be done for the people and we have shown what our plan is. Sir, if the Hon. the Chief Minister would only admit that there is another line of thought, that there is another line of reasoning whatever may be his own reasoning, I am satisfied that I have not spoken in vain. The day he returned from Rayalaseema, he said 'in the background of the poverty, in the background of the misery and distress of the people all else looks to me a mockery'. There he has just touched the basic core of the United Democratic Front.

"Sir, if I have succeeded in touching a cell in his able brain and it is now on a new line of thought, or if I have touched a chord in his heart which makes him act in a different way, I have succeeded in my object. If only I have given him some food for thought, I have not spoken in vain."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, the appeal made by my hon. Friend at the closing of his speech deserves first attention. If really the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition in this House, Sri Adityan wanted to 'touch a chord in my heart or a cell in my brain' he should have employed, I suggest, a different style and a better standard of good taste and manner of expression even, if I may be permitted to say so."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"I do not think there was anything unparliamentary in my language, Sir."

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* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Sir, it is not a question of parliamentary language but it is a question of ‘touching my heart’. My misfortune in becoming Chief Minister here is large. I do not want to appeal for pity but I am describing a fact. I find to-day and I feel the greatest part of that misfortune is that I should sit on this side of the Table when a speech like the one just now was to be made on the other side of the Table. There is a certain standard of decency in debate. There is a certain standard of good taste. Nobody objects to the most unpleasant facts being brought out but there are such things as standards of taste and decency. My hon. Friend may not be aware of any error on his part in this connexion. I am sure he would not commit the error if he felt it but the greatest misfortune is that he is not aware of what I complain about. He is just continuing to speak as, I am sorry to have to say, he is writing in his paper. Even if we have a double function or profession to perform we must observe the decencies of each particular profession. Here, as Leader of the Opposition, he occupies a most responsible position, a position of dignity and prestige.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ On a point of order, Sir, I cannot agree to the allegation of irresponsibility. I am to point out, Sir, that it is altogether out of place.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ The hon. Member must know when to interrupt.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ Sir, I am rising on a point of order. (Sri K. Bhashyam was also seen to rise on a point of order.) Under the general rules every speech must be strictly relevant to the discussion and under rule 55 of the Council Rules a member while speaking must not make a personal charge against another member. Here is a charge made that I as Leader of the Opposition have not acted in a responsible manner. I submit, Sir, that according to the rules he cannot make such an allegation. It is entirely out of order to make such a suggestion.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Sir, I repeat that the biggest misfortune among the many attendant on my holding this office is—I have heard many speeches in opposition, I have heard violent speeches in opposition and it is a pleasure sometimes to hear violent opposition—to hear speeches such as has been made just now which is a painful thing. I have no doubt whatsoever that it is an error of habit on his part but let me go to the point.

“ What is it that he is claiming? He is claiming that if power should be transferred to him, if he is made Chief Minister and his Party supports him with a majority in the House, he will immediately increase the salaries of all the low-paid officers to whom he referred. Not only those who are called usually non-gazetted officers but all inferior, menial and other servants who bear these adjectives will all be given a higher basic salary and, as soon as

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I resign and Adityan becomes Chief Minister with his party behind him, there will be no unemployment in the country, everybody will be employed and everybody will receive better pay and the food position also will improve. Control and decontrol will walk together hand in hand. There will be freedom of decontrol and also full control on prices, in fact, no control because everything will be cheap. All these will happen. I have no doubt, Sir, that any man can boast anything but the question is whether people will believe him. It is easy to boast but it is another question whether that boast will pass. That we are underpaying people, that we have not found scope for full employment for all our citizens in this country or in this State are perfectly true charges. To the extent that the facts warrant those charges, I plead guilty. In fact, why I struggle, why my party struggles and why the Congress struggles, is because they admit that the country is poor and that nearly everybody is miserable, but the presentation of the actual facts does not amount to a charge. We are struggling against these facts and the question is, 'who will succeed to a reasonable extent in redressing these grievances and in reducing these miseries?' The answer must be given from time to time by the electorate. A Budget debate should not be simply a boast, a re-boast and a counter-boast. We have to find out exactly what is reasonable, what has been done and what can be done. I do not imagine that these charges that have been made are really charges made as charges. I know and I shall describe why they have been made. As I understand it these suggestions have been made because it is the business of Mr. Adityan and his friends continually to tell everybody, who is drawing a salary under the Government, that his salary should be raised, continually to tell everyone that he should keep on discontented and not remain contented till things are bettered. It is the business of agitation. No doubt, it is lawful business for a political agitator but that takes people nowhere. It seems to be his business to make governance difficult for the Government that is in power. It is his business now to say 'You must raise salaries; you must increase expenditure but you must also reduce expenditure.'

"He thinks he has made a brilliant point when he says that the Governor's establishment costs so much. In this argument, I make a complete present of the entire cost of the Governor's establishment and distribute it among the people in this State. Would he be able to alter anything? Now, he may come back to the point that it will be something psychological. Psychological gains are not what he seeks. It is for the Government in power to get some psychological gain out of it. The argument of the Opposition is that employment must be increased so that everybody may have employment and every servant must get a salary on which he could live decently. Now, if only the principles that he has enunciated in his speech are accepted and the salary that should be given is multiplied by the number of people that are to receive them, he will find that the Budget will have to be increased, not twice or thrice, but it has to be increased ten times. We have to find the resources for meeting this expenditure.

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" I do not say that there is no ideal to work for. We have all ideals to work for, but we must be practical men when we are dealing with the affairs of Government. What is it that Mr. Adityan has been declaiming about? It is easy to write a leading newspaper article or even to get a third-rate artist to write a cartoon. It is easy to paint a donkey and put me in charge of it or paint me as a donkey. I tried all these things when I was much younger than Mr. Adityan. All that is quite easy. The point, now, is whether there is any substance in what has been said by Mr. Adityan? The expenditure on the Governor's establishment is a point which can be pointed out in every debate. But we have not done it as a new thing. We have not done it in Madras only. It is a general policy for the whole of India. We do or we do not want Governors. If we do want Governors, we want them to occupy a particular position. All these have been thoroughly discussed in the Constituent Assembly. We can dispense with a King but we must have a President. We can even dispense with a President, but there must be somebody to be the linchpin to keep the axle and the wheel together. We must have somebody to dissolve the Assembly or to issue summonses for the Assembly. All these things have to be done by somebody and not by putting a constable in the Government House and asking him to run the Governorship. It is impossible. There are certain things as Mr. Adityan wearing a coat. Can Mr. Adityan wear a coat without a shirt or a tie without a shirt? A button must be there. Everything must be there in its place. We cannot simply denounce the Government giving figures of expenditure on the Governor's establishment. There are countries where there are no Governors. They are tiny little countries. They are not countries as large as India with the heterogeneity of our population and with several States, like ours, kept in Union. We must have a certain kind of establishment and a certain quantum of establishment for maintaining the Constitution. This is not our subject. We have discussed it for all India and the thing has been settled. (Interruption from Mr. Rajeswara Rao.) Please do not interrupt me. You will only give me a further argument.

" The aim of the Communist Party is that the Congress must be killed. They have joined together in the U.D.F. They say, we shall talk only of salaries. We shall not talk of revolution, class-war, property, collectivism and things of that kind. They say to the Non-Gazetted officers: ' My dear Non-Gazetted officers, don't you want more salary? If so, support us.' They go to the *Chap-rasis* and tell them: ' Don't you want more salary? We will support your case. Support us.' I tell the *Chap-rasis* and the Non-Gazetted officers and others: ' If you place your fortunes in the hands of Mr. Adityan, you will be ruined.' All these boasts will come to mere air and nothing else. That is what I say. I hope it is parliamentary language. I do not wish to hurt the feelings of anybody. That is my general parliamentary practice. I have got to answer all the points I have heard.

" The Governor's establishment is a thing that is necessary. We may modify it but we have to modify it in a particular way.

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and in a particular manner and for the whole of India. It is not a thing that can be done, on a debate on the Budget in this Assembly. That is the only thing about it, and I will not go into the question of good tastes and good manners in this connection. If you do want an umbrella over your head, you should not make holes in that umbrella. If a Governor is to be there, he should be there as Governor respected by all parties and he must be there with a certain prestige and with a certain moral authority surrounding him. He is not like a constable or a clerk whom you can appoint or dismiss or reappoint or suspend or issue notice to prosecute. The post of a Governor is a peculiar office and with full understanding of its importance, the Constitution of our country has kept the Governors going, has kept the President going and has kept certain forms going. In the Legislative Assembly, why are we—Legislative Assembly Members—paid? Why is the Assembly housed in the building like the one in which it is now housed? All these things may be unnecessary. Surely we can meet in a hut and discuss all our business. But certain forms are necessary in this world.

“ Then my hon. Friend said that since the Communists have settled down to Parliamentary life we should immediately reduce the expenditure on Police. Yes, by and by, we shall do so. It is not merely a question of belief or non-belief. There is a certain amount of expediency behind this policy of parliamentary method which the Communists are now following. I want that to grow into a habit. I want the Gentleman who wants to pretend to be a *sanyasi* to sit down for a day, for a month or for a year, habituating himself to put his fingers on the nose and then we will see whether he becomes a real *sanyasi* or not. I want the Communists and I do hope that, in course of time, they will settle down to Parliamentary method. There is no good Mr. Rajeswara Rao writing to his masters or to his colleagues in the Polit Bureau: ‘ This is only a temporary phase. This is only an expediency. We do not give up our policy that the State must be taken by force, and not otherwise, and that there is no chance for the Communist way of life without a forcible revolution.’ There is no good in writing that. If I have the leisure—Mr. Rajeswara Rao may know later—I will go to the Communist countries and expose the present expediency politics of Communists on their behalf. It is expediency now. It is not yet a full, conscious and sincere belief in parliamentary methods. I know, later, it may become a habit. I do hope that the Communists will not be able to get out of the mire of parliamentary life. I hope they will be struck by it. I am hoping for that day when they will become a true Parliamentary Opposition. Then I will reduce expenditure on Police, if I have the authority to do so at that time; and not now. I know, that you can go back on your methods but I cannot go back. At the present stage, we will have to watch one another’s sincerity, one another’s behaviour. All these are necessary before Mr. Adityan can persuade me to reduce the expenditure on the Police.

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"The expenditure in all departments, whether it be Police or whether it be Women's Welfare or whether it be Defence, is naturally increasing from year to year. As population increases from year to year, as prices increase, as difficulties increase there is always an addition and never a subtraction. It is part of our civilization. We can observe it even in our family budgets. Therefore there is nothing very remarkable to find that in the year 1952 a little more money is to be spent than in the year 1951. In fact, if you do not spend, people will find fault with you.

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"To spend on an item while there is need for it is not a crime. There is greed and a great increase in the volume of crime in every aspect and department of crime and the methods and technique of crime have also advanced. There are criminals now who walk with revolvers in their hands and there are others who pretend to be Communists and go with revolvers in their hands and the Communists will support me in any action that I might take with reference to them because it is not they but somebody else who suffers. As a matter of fact, people now pretend to be Communists in order to extort and intimidate and so the request of the Leader of the Opposition to reduce the number of Police stations cannot be carried out. He may say that the people do not want them. I know, Sir, that the people want more Police stations; it may be that the voters who gave votes to the Leader of the Opposition may want the Police stations to go but, so far as the generality of people are concerned, they do not want the Police establishment to be reduced but they want it to be stronger. Therefore, we do want the Police and we cannot do without it."

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—"Why not decide it on the basis of a referendum?"

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"A referendum for each issue is not known in our country and further a referendum on one issue might cut across another issue and that is a thing which is not within our province.

"Now, let us take the question of Cabinet responsibility. Mr. Adityan thought that he was exceedingly smart—it is not unparliamentary—in putting up Sri Manickavelu Naicker to imagine that he is badly treated by me, that I am carrying on with my policy and exploiting him; all this is smart, nothing less. I would submit that the remarks that he made about joint responsibility is the answer to this smart remark. The more dissimilar the people in the Cabinet are, the better it is for the country if there is joint responsibility. I believe in people getting together working upon each other's judgment and discretion so that we might get results for which we are responsible, for which every one in the cabinet is responsible. One hon. Member said that Prohibition should either be enforced or be repealed; the enforcement is not good and therefore, it must go. He can say so many other things but it will not do for Sri Adityan to try to set up one against the other in our Cabinet. He will not succeed and the attempt is not decent.

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"Sir, I will take up the question of decontrol separately. I am trying to forget his last speech and I do not want to end this debate in an angry state of mind which has been provoked by Sri Adityan. If he wanted to make me angry, he has succeeded. I confess that it is not right for anyone to lose his temper but there is a limit to even an old man's patience.

"I am grateful for all the helpful remarks and criticisms made by hon. Members during the last few days. The very fact that in this House there is no question of voting of any kind has clothed the remarks made in this House with a certain amount of freedom, richness and fullness of expression. I welcome it and it is a great advantage. We can vote according to groups or parties or according to individual judgment but a debate like this in this House has its own advantages where there is no voting and members can join together and say 'Yes' to certain things and 'No' to some others.

"In the first instance, I am grateful, in spite of what Sri Adityan has said, for the approval of the Opposition in respect of the most important step taken by the Government in regard to the food policy. On the whole, people have appreciated it and Members of this House have also appreciated it and, even on the Opposition, Sri Adityan tried not to say that decontrol was bad but he said that decontrol can walk hand in hand with control and to this I shall refer later. People have appreciated my courage but let me say that this was not my courage; it is not my courage that made me give up controls; it is the courage of the people that infected me because people are ready to take risks, they are willing to take risks and they prefer taking them to the harassments and the troubles that they have to go through under controls. It is that courage which I sensed among most of our people that gave me the courage. I do not claim any courage on my part when I know I have drawn the whole of that courage from the people for whom I have to work. Therefore, it is unnecessary for people to compliment me on it or for other people to try to prove it to be wrong or to argue that my courage has not been demonstrated. Mr. Prakasam who is here said 'What is there tremendous in decontrol?' He referred to the sufferings he had seen and went through helplessly under control. Decontrol, he explained, came out of the very nature of things and not out of my skill or statesmanship or anything great on my part. It is quite right as everything comes out of the nature of things. Can I change the laws of nature? We have only to act according to the laws of nature. Sri Prakasam said that this was long overdue and there is nothing terrible in my having done it. Mr. Burra, I am sorry, I have used the shortened form of his name, Sri Subrahmanyam said that courage cannotes risk and asked: 'Without risk, where is the courage? What was the great risk when you had good stocks held on Government accounts? You have taken no risk and you have done nothing brave.' True, quite correct but I do not know why he argues this at all. Who wanted compliments for having taken the risk? Some people say that I took a risk and some others say there is no such thing. It should not be mistaken

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that I claimed a compliment for courage or anything of the kind. Sri Subrahmanyam need not have gone so far to prove that I was not brave. There are very many ways of proving it just as people used to do in the olden days going out with a pistol in hand for a duel and settling the matter. Let it be granted there is no courage involved here or of taking risks. Indeed I do wish there were no risks and that is my claim and desire. Far from disagreeing with him, I want him to prove that there is no risk whatsoever and that we have adequate stocks on hand and everything will move all right. I say that I did not order decontrol in order to get cheers from a circus crowd, where a performer takes risks and comes out successful. I decontrolled to give freedom to the toiling farmer and to restore to him the sense of honest ownership of what he raised through the sweat of his brow and that of his wife and children. I did not do it to get Sri Burra's compliment or the admiration of anybody else. Do I not know the value of human praise or the opposite of it? Have I not read and reflected on the meditations of Marcus Aurelius? He taught me the utter valuelessness of public praise. I am glad Sri Burra tells me that there was no risk. Let us work together to reduce risks and make the freedom of the farmer a reality and a success. Let not Members of the Opposition continuously wish in their hearts to get some bad news about this. Let them not pray, to the extent that they believe in praying, for news of failure in that respect. By all means let Sri Adityan prove me to have failed when I have failed, but let not Members of the Opposition cherish and wish alarmist news to the point of satisfaction to themselves.

"I know the fundamental creed of Communism is regulation and control—I am not referring to the famous United Democratic Front programme, but I am referring to the standing programme of the Communists, their standing creed and the basis of their philosophy. Take any book on Communism or Socialism and you will see that the first chapter deals with the need for regulated production and regulated distribution. My Friend Sri Satyanarayana will tell you, Sir, that I explained this to him 20 years ago and he asked me if co-operation will not do and I answered him, but he still stands firm. Now the first chapter in any book on Communism deals with regulated production and distribution and it is a different matter whether we can do it or not. But the farmers of this land do not like the corollary to this regulation of production and distribution; they do not like the enslavement of the individual; they do not like official harassment which is a corollary to any Government trying to control. Of course when the Communists take over the State, they will have liquidated all opposition and every citizen will be a Policeman, every surviving citizen will be a Policeman; every father will be a spy on the son and every son will be a spy on the father and everybody will be the servant of the State and therefore, there will be no difficulty or danger; the very urge of life would be changed and different. Today the Communists have suppressed their creed. I am explaining their reaction to the success or failure of decontrol. The Communists have suppressed their fundamental doctrine but it cannot

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be suppressed so easily. The Communist doctrine of regulation of production and distribution is not wanted in the G.C.M. programme of the United Democratic Front. It can be suppressed but it finds an outlet in their hearts whenever the occasion arises and that is why a large number of Members of the Opposition want the failure of decontrol and desire that decontrol should be proved wrong and the original philosophy of the Communists should be proved correct, namely, that control over production and distribution is necessary for life whether in India or elsewhere because the Communist doctrine is an international doctrine and it applies to all lands. I beg of them to make the temporary subordination of their creed a habit and a reality, and I want you to wish in your hearts for no failure of this policy, for the sake of the people of this land and not for my sake. Sri Adityan said that decontrol has been proved to be a failure. He could wait for some time till it has sufficiently been proved to have been a failure.

“ He referred to a speech which I made in Anantapur, probably, soon after the decontrol broadcast. Cannot Mr. Adityan understand that there is such a thing as propaganda and an appeal to the people to make the policy a success. I have to tell the people—who else can tell them better than I—after I have given that broadcast: ‘Here your honesty is challenged and it must be proved and your patriotism must stand proved; the challenge has been made and you must respond properly; you must be honest, straight and make decontrol a success. Remember that when you do anything dishonest, you may make some money out of it but it means that you would be making decontrol a failure; you make your Chief Minister a failure.’ I appealed not only in Anantapur, I appealed in private and public meetings and elsewhere also that if they want me or if they want the Congress to govern, they ought to make this policy a success. Whenever I say I will go, it is a sanction which I apply to my friends, not to my opponents, no doubt the public and everybody may read the sanction that I apply against my friends or relations or blood relations or party friends or of people who have some affection for me. Every time that I say that I will give up my office, Sri Adityan’s mouth seems to water.

“ Sir, this is a wrong interpretation of what I said to the public. If I tell my washerman—I did not tell him, but for argument’s sake, if I say—‘My dear friend, everybody should work honestly. If you undertake a piece of work, you must do it properly. If you want me to govern this country, everybody should work like that’, does it mean that if the washerman does not wash my clothes well, I should resign and Mr. Adityan must take my place. I am surprised at the terrible desire that has developed in the Opposition mind that the Chief Minister should resign. I do not mind it. I am only too eager to be relieved. Whether I succeed or not, let us understand one another when we speak. A verse in the *Bhagavad Gita* says that inordinate desire ruins one’s intellect. ‘If you allow your desire to become too strong and to overwhelm you, your intellect will be ruined.’ The gradual

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process is described very beautifully in the *Gita*, step by step, now it will in the end lead to complete disaster. Do not allow the desire that the Chief Minister should resign, overwhelm you. How long will I last, even if I do not resign? Do not read in every speech of mine an opportunity for getting the Chief Minister out of the way. I can understand the politics that had led to that desire which is not relevant to this case. We all know that Mr. Adityan was not always in the United Democratic Front. We all know Mr. Adityan's several successes and several failures. Mr. Adityan says, 'come to my meeting. You will see, all the people subscribing for the expenses of the meeting.' I want him not to get deceived by such exhibitions, whether it be on the one side or the other. It is the same truth. Let us not care so much for public praise or blame. Let us try to do the right thing.

"Then, Sir, about appreciations of certain concessions given to inadequately paid officials, I wish to say that a thing repeated loses its beauty and its grace. I do not like anyone to compliment me on these concessions. They are nothing. They are small. I know how small they are against the background of the distress of modern middle-class life. It is painful to me to listen to compliments in this matter. Let us leave these concessions alone for what they are worth. I believe, they are good for the children of those families. I do not want compliments on that account. I wish to say one thing that has been lost sight of in this connection. The term 'N.G.O.' has come to mean something very specific. But the order making boys and girls free scholars in all schools applies not only to sons and daughters of Superintendents and Upper and Lower Division Clerks of the Secretariat in Madras, but to the children of every Government servant including the lowest grade of Taluk Office Clerks, peons, Constables, Head Constables—every menial or inferior servant so called, provided he is on the pay list of this Government. This is a big sweep, I claim in my heart. I do not want any compliment for it but I do hope that this big sweep will be appreciated.

"Every good act leaves behind a large remnant of things not done. It is easy to point out that there is so much not done. But let us hope we shall be able to do more and more, and not try to darken the good things done with accusations about what has not yet been done. Let us improve our national income first and then all priorities can be attended to. Not until then. We cannot simply by a Budget trick provide employment and salaries to everybody, whatever Government may be in power. It is only by an increase in the national income that we can do that and that is why so much stress is laid on capital expenditure. That is why the capital expenditure in any State is its greatest hope. For, on this and on the improvement of national character and habits, whether it be voluntary or brought about by regulations, depend the increase of national income and the fulfilment of our hopes. So there is no use in finding fault with the Budget or with the Chief Minister or with the Finance Minister, if there is large unemployment in our country.

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“ Much stress was laid by some Members on the just and natural desire of the people of the Andhra districts to become a separate State instead of losing their identity in this mixed State of Madras. It was Mr. Venkata Rao who spoke on it with great feeling. Every one who has worked with me during these past 30 years knows that I sympathise with this desire and have helped towards its fulfilment. There is no need for anyone to press on me the expediency of this partition. Because I am a Mitakshara-minded man, I do not believe in holding together those who wish to separate. When any undivided member expresses a clear desire to separate, it is better to separate than to hold fast to an unwanted partnership. That is the reason—it is not as if I do not like the Andhra company—why I support this desire for separation. No one, therefore, need doubt my mind, but things must be done properly and at the right time. The cry for partition has been used by some as a weapon for the advancement of party politics. This, I thoroughly dislike. This is wrong and dangerous. People who wish to use the popular demand for party purposes wish rather to keep the demand alive than to obtain its fulfilment quickly, because for party purposes the demand is more important than its fulfilment. And so it is that claims are added on, which are impossible of fulfilment, so that the issue may be kept alive and furnish strength to party politics. This desire for a separate State need not be allowed to cast its cloud on our affairs in this State. That is my appeal. Let us leave it to the impartial consideration of the President's Government and while we are together, let us carry on our work without mutual suspicion.

“ An issue has been raised, I might say in this connection, over the Krishna waters. It threatens to become worse than communal and religious animosity. I see it as clear as daylight. Let us carry on without anger and for mutual advantage in a spirit of calm reflection on every important national issue and not get excited over these things. I deprecate any excitement over an issue of this kind. Let us not quarrel over the chickens before they are hatched. The Krishna water is not yet there for sharing. It had to be decided in Delhi between Bombay and the Central Government how much water we should have. Let us look after the hen which is to lay its eggs and not quarrel over unhatched eggs.

“ Sir, the other day reference was made, almost to blood flowing over the Krishna waters. No reference was made to blood but the word ‘ drop ’ was used in a tone and style which reminded me of blood. I deprecate such excitement over an issue of this kind. When it is a question of serving humanity the resources of the world should be used to the best advantage of the people as a whole. It does not matter whether it is here or there. The old doctrines are changing. When things are proposed and discussed, we can present our case and we can dispose of it; and sacrifices would be made on behalf of everybody. We do not want the water to go into the sea. We want it to be utilized for the benefit of hungry people.

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"Some criticisms were offered with regard to the Prohibition policy, weakness of enforcement and the desirability of looking into the matter with a view to improve enforcement or to repeal the Prohibition Act and re-introduce alcoholic drinks in this State as in the old days. The Budget has been prepared on the assumption that we do not get any drink revenue as under the old Abkari system. The Government are pledged to their policy of Prohibition under Article 47 of the Constitution. We believe that it would be unjust to offer toddy and arrack to the most miserable in the land and put a heavy price on it and thereby make revenue. About the attraction of drink, I know quite enough. I have lived among the addicts. I need not, however, now describe my experience. I know the attraction of drink is due to want of joy in the life of the poor man and to the social conditions under which he lives. I am not referring to the gentlemen who drink in clubs, who use bottled drinks imported from abroad. I am referring to the main source of revenue from drink, which is from the common man who uses toddy and arrack. If it is agreed that it is the poor that will mostly consume what is not good for them, how could we justly put an indirect tax on the poorest section of the people in order to find revenues to meet our expenditure? I can understand making drink free if it were not considered dangerous. I can understand making it available to those who want it and I can understand many things."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—"Then why tax foodgrains, if it is a question of helping the poor?"

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"I have not forgotten it and I shall refer to it. A tax on food affects every one in the land. Food is eaten by everybody and it is not poisonous. Whereas drink is consumed by a few people and it is poisonous. Also, in the case of drink, the burden does not fall on those who keep away from drink. If I put the tax on toddy, I specifically tax a certain class of people whose miserable faces stand before me and I cannot agree to put an indirect tax on toddy to make it costly and use that money for other people's benefit. If I tax food, I tax everybody. In the case of food, one cannot eat more than he wants. But in the case of drink, one can drink more than he wants and he can ruin his family. Therefore, a tax on drink is very different from a tax on food. If a member of Mr. Adityan's family began to drink, then he would understand what I have said. (Laughter.)

Sir, the word 'tainted money' is a popular phrase but a thing that is too often repeated loses its meaning. It becomes a mere *mantram*. It is not a *mantram* but it expresses the reality of the injustice that is involved in the drink tax. That is why it is called 'tainted money'. It is not as if it is a branch of untouchability that we should not touch the money got in that way. It is injustice that is involved in the tax.

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“ There is a popular fallacy and a great deal of argument is based on it that liquor licitly made is good for health and liquor is bad for health if it is made illicitly. Liquor is bad, whether it be Government liquor or whether it be illicit liquor. If to-day people can get only poisonous stuff in the blackmarket in the form of denatured spirit, varnish, polish, etc., and ruin their health, it contradicts the other argument that everybody is distilling liquor everywhere. If to-day people can get these poisonous stuffs like polish, varnish and methylated spirit only in the blackmarket and if these are bad stuff, I may presume that there is not so much of illicit distillation as the protagonists of anti-Prohibition try to make out in the course of another chapter of their argument. In course of time, I believe, people will learn to give up poisonous concoctions. But, if it is argued that everybody is making illicit liquor, it could not be poisonous. I know how this liquor is made and how it is fermented and how distilled liquor is made and diluted to 50 per cent and sold as whisky, champagne and the like. I know all these. If the people make illicit liquor, they know how to make it as they were doing it also during the Abkari Act days. Illicit liquor will continue to be made even if I abolish Prohibition tomorrow and Government would have to compete with the blackmarket, with the price of illicit liquor as against the price of licit liquor.

“ Mr. C. Rajeswara Rao knows it thoroughly. He lives near by where they do this. He understands the economics of illicit liquor. He knows the competition between illicit liquor and licit liquor in price. We will not get the revenue, which you imagine we will get, even if it is not tainted money. Government will not be able to get the revenue any longer, which they were able to get till now ; illicit liquor will not go down ; it will not disappear ; you will be having A plus B, that is, both illicit and licit liquor. If the argument is ‘enforcement is not good, it should be strengthened’, I agree it should be strengthened, and I shall do my best in this respect. If I fail to do this, I will throw up my hands and say, ‘it is impossible, and this country must go to the devil’, if I may use that phrase.

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“ Mr. N. Satyanarayana has made a strong plea for Prohibition. In 1930 we were in prison together. I did not meet him since then. He has made a wonderful contribution to the debate from personal experience. If there is the right man in the right place and if he works industriously and sincerely, success can be produced. I wish there were more Satyanarayanans in our country and we had them working all over the country ; then, we could do ever so much more than we have been able to do now. We could then reduce all expenditure on administrative staff and save ever so much money for welfare work. Every village could be a happy place to live in. Rural life, to which reference was made, can be improved by a reformed system of education and by choosing public servants from a class of people who will regard loyal service to Government as an honorary duty and not as mere day labour for which full payment must be made. If what I have said

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can be done, rural life will be improved. Towns may come under mercenary payment. If every village officer, every village headman, every village accountant and every village schoolmaster—all of these have to be paid according to the rules of mercenary calculation as per State Government scales of pay or the Central Government scales of pay, it would be impossible to find the necessary money for it and that is why such an educationist and a realist as Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar, the other day suggested that schoolmasters must be allowed to do their work in part in schools and in part also earn otherwise from other occupations. He may be a landlord, he may be a merchant, he may be anybody, he may be a decent gentleman living on his own lands, and he may yet serve as schoolmaster in his village. My own view is that by a slight modification in our system of rural schools, we can spread education far more effectively than we are now doing and we can preserve the village and make it attractive. But, for this, a lot of courage is needed, because it is very difficult to get out of the rut. Anyway hon. Members of the Legislature in the Assembly and in the Council should give me a chance and some time for that work.

"An appeal has been made by Mrs. Clubwala that we should have a Social Service Minister. If I proceed to appoint a Social Service Minister, it must be a woman (laughter) so far as I know. I would then really lose one from the small army of social workers and make a bureaucrat of her. (Laughter.) The whole of the Government is a social service Ministry. The difference between Government and social workers is that the latter work in smaller areas and sections but intensively and in the spirit and atmosphere of private benevolence. Government's work is, on the other hand, on a mass scale and without the fragrance of personal charity and human sentiment. These are necessary characteristics, good and bad. This Government will do everything to encourage social workers and give them assistance. I should be looked upon as the Social Service Minister in the Cabinet even if Mr. Pattabhirama Rao is to be ignored.

"Social service workers must not depend too much on Government. Social service workers should try to make up for the gap that is increasingly widening in private philanthropy. In the work that is done by Government, there is not the life-giving element of individual emotion, which private charity fosters. I feel that the special function of social service workers is to keep the spirit of private charity alive. Government grants reduce this valuable characteristic of social service.

"There is a demand for the urbanizing of the villages, that is to say, of giving amenities to all villages. Even a little additional amenity to a moderate percentage of our villages will mean a great amount of money and of taxation. I am sorry I know my arithmetic and I have to exhibit it. Amenities can only come from expenditure and expenditure means taxation. We object to every kind of taxation, because the poor are to be taxed—a very correct objection; but I will explain this when I come to taxation.

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“ Then, Sir, reference was made to the Revenue Reserve which were built up and which have been drawn upon until they have disappeared. After the resignation of the Congress Ministry in 1939, there was a demand that the sales tax should be abolished because the drink revenue was not given up. During that period, the Government-in-charge did not spend all the receipts from the sales tax but built up this reserve. Naturally, the drink revenue having been given up now, these reserves have had to be drawn upon.

“ The only true tax on the rich is the income-tax. When Gladstone introduced this during a national crisis, everybody was against it. But it has come to take the first place now in all civilized Governments. The objections then raised to the income-tax bear a family resemblance to the objections raised to the sales tax in this State. But the small income-tax introduced by Mr. Gladstone has grown into a 19 sh. in the £ tax now and everyone taxes it for granted.

“ In India, the Centre has taken this tax to itself along with all other rich resources, Customs and Excise revenues, and left only the miserable section of the population to be taxed by the States. If you look into the figures, you will find that the actual figures are about 150 odd crores from income-tax and corporation tax and much more than that by way of customs. The excise revenue comes to 80 crores. They have left only the miserable section of the people to the States. (Laughter.) It is a fact which the schedules in the Indian Constitution will bear out. The milch cow is the Centre's, and all the famished livestock is ours with horns to gore any one going near (laughter), but with neither milk nor flesh in their bodies. The peasant may be taxed by us, the miserable people who wish to hide their sorrows in toddy and arrack may be taxed by us, the litigant may be made to pay us. They left the unpromising tax on sales to us. This was a fortunate lapse on their part. We have done well on this last (sales tax) braving all opposition. But after we have won the battles, and made something out of it, the greedy eyes of the Centre are on it now. (Laughter.) But I won't proceed further.

“ The injustice of taking all the income-tax was felt pretty soon by the Centre. They agreed to share the income-tax with States and make grants out of it. That is, they said half of this income-tax collections will be divided among the twenty odd States. This has been the subject of awards from time to time by altering the ratio. Out of the one half of the total collections so set apart for grants to the States, to-day Madras gets 17.5 per cent of the available pool, that is, 17.5 per cent of half of the net revenue under income-tax. On the basis of population, Madras should get 20.5 per cent of the pool and not only 17.5 per cent. But there is an argument on behalf of some States that milk is got from the udder and not the cow. They say that as income-tax is collected mostly in Bombay and Calcutta, the question of population should not count. But Madras has been pressing that it must be decided

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on the basis of population, because the needs of the people are counted more or less on the basis of population and so the requirements of the people must be met from the pool. If we succeed we will get 20.5 per cent and not 17.5 per cent only. I won't go further because the Finance Commission is sitting to make recommendations to the President of India. I was busy with them yesterday and to-day. It is possible under the Constitution that the Excise revenue of India, which is between 80 and 90 crores annually (and half of it would be between 40 and 45 crores) may also be added to the income-tax pool, if the Finance Commission recommend it. An amount of 40 crores will be a substantial addition to the income-tax pool. It is a matter for negotiation and sweet reasonableness. Declamatory speeches will not help.

"The per capita income in Madras State is Rs. 254. The State taxation including all forms of revenue is Rs. 8.71 per head. Rs. 9 on Rs. 250 is pretty heavy remembering that so much out of the per capita annual income must be spent out of the family budget. The Central revenues are also got from out of this Rs. 250 by way of taxes, duties and the like, and also local duties, cesses of municipal and local boards. All these must be met from this. So the representatives of the people naturally object to additional taxation at every Budget session. They want the Government of Madras to tax the rich; but the rich have been appropriated by the Centre, as I have already explained. Anything we try to do to them is frustrated between the two of them. (Laughter.) The Central Government does not want its milk to be filched by us. The rich tax-payers too will not let us milk them. They have power and resources to join up with the Centre and in the name of co-ordination, commerce and uniformity frustrate our efforts to get anything that could possibly be got. I do hope that people who work in the Centre, in whatever capacity it be, would create public opinion in favour of State finances. Otherwise, hemmed in between the Centre and the objections and tactics of the rich on the one side and the genuine objections of the poor on the other side, how is the Government of Madras or any other State Government to satisfy the demands for order, for welfare and for improvement? That difficulty is reflected in the Budget, in the proposals as well as the objections to the proposals. It is no wonder then that during Budget time the Opposition and the Government Benches, all raise the same cries of 'No, No.' Yet wisdom and patience must steer the Government's ship and I hope the crew will be loyal. The canvas is necessary and important for the artist's picture. Don't tear off the canvas. Then there can be no picture good or bad. That is my request.

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"We have but few resources to depend on and even there we have transferred away, let me remind hon. Members, the entertainment taxes, the profession taxes, the property taxes and the surcharge on stamps to local bodies because they too must live and must carry on. Even the terminal railway taxes, let me tell hon. Members, are the Centre's. They do not belong to us.

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"Now, my Finance Minister is young comparatively, and being young, he got ill after his labours. I think young men are entitled to get sick; it is only the old people who cannot afford to get sick. I am glad everyone is encouraging him to grow to his full stature and helping him, giving him all friendliness and assistance. He has undertaken great responsibilities. His task is difficult. It was most generous of him to offer to bear the brunt of my task in the worst part of my duties and he is doing it well. I am grateful to everyone that is friendly and helpful to him.

"I am glad to note he is courageous without bluster. He is prepared to ignore popular favour when the interests of the State require him to do a certain thing. It is false democracy to be blown about by the winds of popular favour. Our sails must be set firmly in the direction of our goal. Thank you, Sir, for giving me this much time."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"The House will now adjourn to meet again at 4 o'clock on Wednesday, the 30th July 1952."

The House then adjourned.

III.—PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

Notifications making amendments to Madras Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940, published with Home Department Notification No. 357, dated 29th March 1940, as subsequently amended—

(1) Notification issued with G.O. Ms. No. 2014, Home, dated 5th June 1952.

(2) Notification issued with G.O. Ms. No. 1874, Home, dated 20th May 1952.

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APPENDIX 1.

[Vide answer to starred question No. 32 asked by Sri T. Purushothama Mudaliar at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on 11th July 1952, page 317 supra.]

**LIST OF POSTS UNDER THE STATE GOVERNMENT
WHICH ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE PURVIEW OF
THE MADRAS PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.**

A. STATE SERVICE.

- (1) Administrator-General and Official Trustee and Deputy Administrator-General and Official Trustee, Madras.
- (2) Law Officers in the City and mufassal.
- (3) Law Reporters.
- (4) Personal Assistant to the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards when recruited by transfer from the Madras Civil Service (Executive Branch).
- (5) Posts included in the Madras Port Service.
- (6) Secretary to Government, Legal Department and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs.
- (7) Sheriff of Madras.
- (8) Deputy Inspectors of Municipal Councils and Local Boards when recruited by transfer of members of the Madras Civil Service (Executive Branch), or of Class IX (Assistant Secretaries to Government) of the Madras General Service.
- (9) Temporary posts of Director, King Institute, Guindy and Assistant Director, King Institute, Guindy, when filled by members of the Medical Research department.
- (10) Chief Accountants in the Madras General Service when recruited from among the staff of the Indian Audit department.
- (11) Superintendents of Central and District Jails when filled by retired Government officers.
- (12) Temporary posts of part-time Assistant to the District Medical Officer, the Nilgiris and the Superintendent, District Headquarters Hospital, Ootacamund.
- (13) Temporary posts of Personal Assistant to the Superintending Engineers (Communications).
- (14) Temporary gazetted post of Propagation Superintendent in the Cinchona Plantations, Anamalais.
- (15) Officers constituting the Tribunal for Disciplinary Proceedings.
- (16) Posts in the Madras Medical Service when filled temporarily by the re-employment of medical officers who have retired on a military pension or gratuity.

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(17) Assistant Textile Commissioners attached to the Office of the Director of Controlled Commodities and Personal Assistant to the Director of Controlled Commodities.

(18) Commercial Tax Officers including Assistant Secretary, Board of Revenue (Commercial Taxes), when recruited by transfer from the Madras Civil Service (Executive Branch), District Registrars in the Madras Registration Service or Inspectors of Excise in the Madras Excise Service.

(19) District Magistrates in the Madras Criminal Judicial Service.

(20) Temporary post of Assistant Secretary, Central Road Traffic Board, Madras, in the Madras General Service.

(21) Under Secretary to Government in the Legal Department in the Madras General Service.

(22) Comptroller and Assistant Comptroller of the Household of the Governor in the Madras General Service.

(23) Assistant Secretary, Governor's Secretariat in the Madras General Service.

B. SUBORDINATE SERVICES.

The following posts in the Madras Ministerial Service :—

(i) Ministerial posts in the office of the Military Secretary to the Governor.

(ii) Clerks in the Laccadive and Amindivi Islands.

(iii) Manager and clerks in the Special Branch of the Criminal Investigation Department.

(iv) Readers.

(v) Copyists.

(vi) Any post in which the pay is—

(a) lower than Rs. 45 a month, if on a fixed rate of pay, or

(b) lower than the scale of Rs. 45—3—60—2—90, if on a time-scale of pay.

(vii) (a) Any post of lower division clerk in the Revenue Department, when such post is filled by the appointment of a person who was recruited direct as a Probationary Revenue Inspector and whose probation has been terminated for failure to pass the prescribed tests or for failure to complete his training to the satisfaction of the Collector.

(b) Any post of lower division clerk in the office of the Board of Revenue, when filled by the appointment of a person who was recruited direct as an upper division clerk in that office and whose probation was terminated for failure to pass the Revenue Tests, Parts I, II and III, within the prescribed period of probation.

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(c) Any post of clerk in the Local Fund Audit Department when filled by the appointment of a person who was recruited direct as an apprentice in the Madras Local Fund Audit Subordinate Service and whose probation was terminated for failure to pass the prescribed test or for failure to complete his training satisfactorily.

(viii) Personal Assistant to the Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly and the Chairman of the Madras Legislative Council.

(ix) Posts of temporary clerks, typists, steno-typists and reporters in the Secretariat of the Madras Legislature sanctioned from time to time by the Secretary to the Legislature on pay not exceeding the minimum of the time-scale of pay applicable to the post concerned to be paid out of the lump allotment sanctioned for the purpose.

(x) Temporary clerk appointed to assist the Co-operative Sub-Registrar in connexion with the liquidation proceedings of the Christian Central Co-operative Bank, Limited, Madras.

(xi) Post of store-keeper in the Government Industrial Engineering Workshop, Madras.

(xii) Ministerial posts in the National Cadet Corps Offices.

2. The following posts in the Madras Judicial Ministerial Service :—

(i) Examiners in the Presidency Court of Small Causes and the City Civil Court.

(ii) Shroff in the Presidency Court of Small Causes.

(iii) Assistant Shroff in the Presidency Court of Small Causes.

(iv) Head European Bailiff of the Presidency Court of Small Causes.

(v) European Bailiff of the Sheriff's Office.

(vi) Bailiff of the Presidency Court of Small Causes and Court-keeper of the City Civil Court.

(vii) Court and Deposit-keeper of the Presidency Court of Small Causes.

(viii) Other Bailiffs in the Presidency Court of Small Causes—I Grade, II Grade and III Grade.

(ix) Indian Bailiffs in the Sheriff's Office.

(x) Other Bailiffs in the City Civil Court.

(xi) Court-keepers and criers of the Presidency Court of Small Causes—I Grade and II Grade.

(xii) Readers of the Presidency Court of Small Causes and the City Civil Court.

(xiii) Process-writers of the City Civil Court.

(xiv) Copyists in the Presidency Court of Small Causes, City Civil Court and the Courts of the Presidency Magistrates.

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(xv) Assistant Superintendents of Copyists in Mufassal Courts and Official Receivers' Offices.

(xvi) Examiners in mufassal Courts and Official Receivers' Offices.

(xvii) Amins in mufassal Courts.

(xviii) Readers in mufassal Courts.

(xix) Copyists in mufassal Courts.

(xx) Court clerk of the office of the Administrator-General and Official Trustee when held by an advocate's clerk or an estate clerk.

3. Non-gazetted posts (other than posts included in the Madras Ministerial Service or the Madras Judicial Ministerial Service) *except* the following, namely:—

(a) Assistant Professors and Assistant Lecturers (Men); School Assistants and Headmasters (Men); Basic Education Officers, Headquarters and Rajahmundry; Assistant Instructors and Laboratory Assistants; Physical Directors, Grade II; Assistant Lecturers (Women); School Assistants and Headmistresses (Women) and Physical Directress in the Madras Educational Subordinate Service.

(b) Forest Apprentices in the Forest Subordinate Service.

(c) Inspectors in the Madras Local Fund Audit Subordinate Service.

(d) Marine Engineering Assistant, Inspectors, Statistical Assistant, Research Assistants, Laboratory Assistants, Sub-Inspectors, Superintendents, Fisheries Technological Institute, Tuticorin, Superintendent and Bio-Chemist for Manufacture of Semi-dried prawns from Collair and Pulicat Lakes, Fishery Demonstrators, Assistant Fishery Demonstrators, Propaganda Assistants, Librarian, Curator and Taxidermist in the Madras Fisheries Subordinate Service.

(e) Laboratory Assistants and Sub-Inspectors in the Madras Excise Subordinate Service.

(f) Posts included in the Madras Secretariat Service other than the following, namely:—

(1) Telephone clerks;

(2) Ministerial posts in the Secretarial staff of the Governor;

(3) Posts in the Legal Department when filled from among the non-gazetted members of the Madras High Court Service;

(4) Posts of upper division clerks in the Finance Department when filled from among senior clerks of the office of the Accountant-General, Madras;

(5) Personal Assistants and Personal clerks to Ministers;

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(6) Establishments employed in any temporary posts sanctioned by the Government in connexion with any Committee appointed or constituted by either Chamber of the Legislature or by the Government.

(g) Reserve Sub-Registrars in the Madras Registration Subordinate Service.

(h) Statistical Assistant, Assistant Regional Malarologists, Senior Entomologist attached to the Central Malaria Laboratory and Museum at Madras, Entomological Assistants, Health Inspectors (except when filled by the appointment of Plague Inspectors selected by the Commission after 12th February 1942) in the Madras Public Health Subordinate Service.

(i) The following posts in the College and School of Indigenous Medicine and the Research Department of Indigenous Medicine, Madras, namely :—

Lecturers, Assistant Lecturers, Women Assistant Medical Officer, Assistant Professors, Tutors, Readers, Pandits, Physical Directors, Artist Draftsmen, Demonstrators and Herbarium Superintendent and Lecturer in General Science in the Madras Medical Subordinate Service.

Note.—The Commission need not be consulted in cases where the posts mentioned in this sub-item are filled temporarily by the re-employment of medical officers who have retired on a military pension or gratuity.

(j) Co-operative Sub-Registrars, Junior Inspectors and Dairy Assistants in the Madras Co-operative Subordinate Service.

Note.—The special selection of Senior Inspectors in 1948 and 1949 was made by the Commission.

(k) Supervisors and Radio Supervisors in the Madras Engineering Subordinate Service.

(l) Supervisors and temporary Junior Analytical Chemists in the Madras Industries Subordinate Service.

(m) Upper Subordinates, Assistant, Cocanadas Cotton Scheme and Supervisors in the Research Engineering Section of the Madras Agricultural Subordinate Service.

(n) Poultry Officer, Veterinary Assistant Surgeons and temporary Demonstrators in the Madras Animal Husbandry Subordinate Service.

(o) Headmaster's Assistants in the Madras Jail Subordinate Service.

(p) The following posts in the Madras General Subordinate Service, namely :—

(1) Temporary Assistant Chemist, Assistant Superintendent and Laboratory Assistant and Technical Assistants sanctioned in connexion with the scheme of manurial trials in the Cinchona Department;

(2) temporary posts of Investigators;

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(3) temporary posts of Assistant Inspectors of Labour in the Labour Department; and

(4) the post of Power House Superintendent in the Education Department.

(q) Assistant Commercial Tax Officers in the Madras Commercial Taxes Subordinate Service.

(r) Sub-Magistrates including Sarishtadars of Courts of District Magistrate in the Madras Magisterial Subordinate Service.

(s) Jailors in the Madras Jail Subordinate Service.

(t) Junior Engineers (Electrical) and (Mechanical) and Supervisors (Electrical) (Mechanical) and (Civil) in the Madras Electrical Subordinate Service.

(u) First, second and third Assistant Chemists in the Kerala Soap Institute, Kozhikode in the Madras Industries Subordinate Service.

4. Posts in the Madras Police Subordinate Service and Malabar Special Police Subordinate Service.

APPENDIX II.

[Vide answer to starred question No. 34 asked by Sri T. Purushothama Mudaliar at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on 11th July 1952, page 319 supra.]

<i>Name of the District Board.</i>		<i>Number of dispensaries of Modern Medicine.</i>	<i>Number of dispensaries of In'igenous Medicine.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	
1 Anantapur	2	23	
2 North Arcot	10	31	
3 South Arcot	5	16	
4 Bellary	10	24	
5 Chingleput	12	28	
6 Chittoor	9	13	
7 Coimbatore	16	24	
8 Cuddapah	6	17	
9 East Godavari	27	22	
10 West Godavari	20	14	
11 Guntur	12	37	
12 Krishna	17	58	
13 Kurnool	4	16	
14 Malabar	20	23	
15 Madurai	13	13	
16 Nellore	4	28	
17 Ramanathapuram	18	22	
18 Salem	14	23	
19 South Kanara	13	18	
20 Srikakulam	21	4	
21 Tanjore	24	35	
22 Tiruchirappalli	17	16	
23 Tirunelveli	7	15	
24 Visakhapatnam	15	5	
Total	316	525	

